Gabriel Mazor, Walid Atrash Gerald Finkielsztejn, Bet She'an IV. Hellenistic Nysa-Scythopolis. The amphora stamps and sealings from Tel Iztabba

Palaczyk, Marek

Journal of Hellenistic Pottery & Material Culture

4 · 2019

ISSN: 2399-1844

JHP Journal of Hellenistic Pottery & Material Culture

4 · 2019

Edited by

Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom
and Patricia Kögler

JHP – Journal of Hellenistic Pottery and Material Culture
Volume 4, 2019

ISBN 978-1-78969-784-1 (Print)
ISSN 2399-1844 (Print)
ISSN 2399-1852 (online)

Editors: Patricia Kögler and Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom
www.jhellp.de; contact: editors@jhellp.de
Logo, layout and cover design: Patricia Kögler (www.wispdok.de)

Cover images, book front:
Left, middle and right: Tableware from Lissos, nos. B.2; B.9; C.59 (article by P. Kögler, figs. 7. 19).
Cover images, book back:
Left and right: Juglet and chytra from Marisa, photos: Gabi Laron (article by R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, p. 69 no.10; p. 71 no. 14).

Submissions are considered by the editors and referred to readers for evaluation.

Content

Submission Guidelines

Manuscripts can be forwarded electronically all the year round to the email-address:

editors@jhellp.de

Authors should follow the submission instructions and guidelines, which can be found on the JHP-webside:

www.jhellp.de

- The manuscript should be sent as a Microsoft Word file and should include: abstract, text, catalogue or appendices, and footnotes. Figure captions and a list of works cited should be sent as individual files. All text files should be typed 1.5-spaced in 12-point Times New Roman font.
- Tables should be submitted as individual MS Word files and numbered consecutively.
- Send figures as individual tif, jpeg, or ai files. Drawings can also be sent as pdf files (after consultation with the editors). All figures should be numbered consecutively.

Submissions are considered by the editors and referred to readers for evaluation.

It is the responsibility of the authors to obtain publication and copyright permissions of all illustrations. JHP takes no responsibility for any copyright infringements.

For any questions please contact the editors – **editors@jhellp.de**.

List of Contributors

Shua **Amorai-Stark**	shua.stark@gmail.com
Donald T. **Ariel**	dtariel@gmail.com
Brice **Erickson**	berickson@classics.ucsb.edu
Malka **Hershkovitz**	MalkaHershkovitz@gmail.com
Thomas **Landvatter**	landvatt@reed.edu
Natalia **Kazakidi**	natali.kasakidi@gmail.com
Patricia **Kögler**	patricia.koegler@gmx.de
Dennis **Mizzi**	dennis.mizzi@um.edu.mt
R. Scott **Moore**	rsmoore@iup.edu
Alla **Nagorsky**	allanag31@gmail.com
Brandon R. **Olson**	brando2121@gmail.com
Marek **Palaczyk**	palaczyk@archaeologie.uzh.ch
Renate **Rosenthal-Heginbottom**	renate34@gmx.de
Reyhan **Şahin**	reyhansahin@uludag.edu.tr
Justin **Stephens**	jsteph46@msudenver.edu

Abbreviations

Ancient Sources

The abbreviations for ancient authors and their works follow the list published in the ›Der Neue Pauly‹ (DNP) and the citation system of the ›Thesaurus Linguae Latinae‹, 2nd edition 1990, as published in the internet by wikipedia:

https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Abkürzungen_antiker_Autoren_und_Werktitel

Journals, Series and Frequently Cited Publications

The abbreviations used for periodicals and often cited works are based on already established and well-known abbreviation systems. The list is regularly updated and expanded.

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
AAJ	s. ***ADAJ***
AAS	Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes
AASOR	The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research
ActaArch	Acta archaeologica. København
ActaHyp	Acta hyperborea. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquties of Jordan
ADelt A	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον Μελέτες
ADelt B	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον Χρονικά
AEphem	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερις
AErgoMak	Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδνία και Θράκη
AF	Archäologische Forschungen
Agora	The Athenian Agora
AgoraPB	Excavations of the Athenian Agora. Picture Book
AHL	Archaeology and History in Lebanon
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AnnIstItNum	Annali. Istituto italiano di numismatica
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AnthrAChron	Ανθωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά
AntK	Antike Kunst
Archaeometry	Archaeometry. Bulletin of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and History of Art, Oxford University
ArchCl	Archeologia classica
ArchEubMel	Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών
ArchPF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
ArchRep	Archaeological Reports

ASAE	Annales du Service des antiquités du l'Égypte
ASAtene	Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente
Atiqot	ʿAtiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities
AtiqotHeb	ʿAtiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities. Hebrew Series
Atlal	Atlal. The Journal of Saudi Arabian Archaeology
Atlante	Atlante delle forme ceramiche. Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale, suppl.
AttCItRom	Atti. Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana
AvP	Altertümer von Pergamon
BAAL	Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises
BABesch	Bulletin anteke beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology
BAIAS	Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAngloIsrASoc	Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society; since 2009: ***Strata***
BAProv	Bulletin archéologique de Provence
BAR	British Archaeological Reports. British Series
BARIntSer	British Archaeological Reports. International Series
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCom	Bullettino della Commisione archeologica comunale di Roma
BdA	Bollettino d'arte
BeitMikraJSBW	Beit Mikra. Journal for the Study of the Bible and its World (Hebrew)
BerlMus	Berliner Museen
BibAr	The Biblical Archaeologist. The American Schools of Oriental Research
BibArchRev	Biblical Archaeological Review
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'institut française d'archéologie orientale
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
BMetMus	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BOntMus	Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, University of Toronto
Boreas	Boreas. Münsterische Beiträge zur Archäologie
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
BSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
BSS	Black Sea Studies
CahPEg	Cahier de recherches de l'institut de papyriologie et d'égyptologie de Lille. Sociétés urbaines en Égypte et au Soudan
Cathedra	Cathedra: For the History of Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv (Hebrew)
CCE	Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne
CEFR	Collection de l'École française de Rome
CENiM	Cahiers »Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne«
Conspectus	E. Ettlinger et al., Conspectus formarum terrae sigillatae Italico modo confectae, Materialien zur römisch-germanischen Keramik 10 (Bonn 1990)
Corinth	Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

ChronEg	Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth
ClQ	The Classical Quarterly
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CVArret	A. Oxé – H. Comfort, Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum. A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes, and Chronology of Italian Sigillata (Bonn 1968)
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne
Délos	**= *EAD***
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DNP	Der Neue Pauly. Encyklopädie der Antike
DossAParis	Les dossiers d'archéologie
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
Dura-Europos	The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters
EAD	Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'école française d'Athènes
EllKer 1	Α' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Ιωάννινα 6 Δεκεμβρίου 1986 (Rhodes 2000)
EllKer 2	Β΄ Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Χρονολογικά προβλήματα της ελληνιστικής κεραμεικής, Ρόδος 22–25 Μαρτίου 1989 (Rhodes 1990)
EllKer 3	Γ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική. Χρονολογημένα σύνολα – εργαστήρια 24–27 Σεπτεμβριου 1991 Θεσσαλονικη (Athens 1994)
EllKer 4	Δ' Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική κεραμική. Χρονολογικά προβλήματα κλείστα σύνολα – Εργασηρια, Μυτιλήνη, Μάρτιος 1994 (Athens 1997)
EllKer 5	Ε' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική. Χρονολογικά προβλήματα, κλειστά σύνολα, εργαστήρια (Athens 2000)
EllKer 6	ΣΤ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, προβλήματα χρονολόγησης κλειστά σύνολα - εργαστήρια, Βόλος 17–23 Απριλίου 2000 (Athens 2004)
EllKer 7	Ζ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Αιγίο 4–9 Απριλίου 2005 (Athens 2011)
EllKer 8	Η' Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική κεραμική, Ιωαννινα 5–9 Μαΐου 2009 (Athens 2014)
EllKer 9	Θ' Διεθνής Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Θεσσαλονίκη, 5–9 Δεκέμβριος 2012, in press
EllKerAigaean	Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από το Αιγαίο (Mytilene 1994)
EllKerCrete	Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από την Κρήτη (Chania 1997)
EllKerEpirus	Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από την αρχαία Ήπειρο, την Αιτωλο-ακαρνανία και τα Ιόνια Νησιά (Ioannina 2009)
EllKerMacedonia	Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από τη Μακεδονία (Thessaloniki 1991)
EllKerMacedonia 2	Θέματα της Ελληνιστικής Κεραμικής στην Αρχαία Μακεδονία (Athens 2012)
EllKerPeloponnes	Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από την Πελοπόννησο (Aigio 2005)
EllKerThessaly	Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από τη Θεσσαλία (Volos 2000)
Eretria	Eretria. Fouilles et recherches
Eretz-Israel	Eretz-Israel. Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies
ESI	**= *ExcIsr***
EtAlex	Études Alexandrines

EtTrav	Études et travaux. Studia i prace. Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie des sciences polonaise
EurAnt	Eurasia antiqua
ExcIsr	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
FACTA	FACTA. A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies
FGH / FGrHist	F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
FHG	Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum
FiA	Forschungen in Augst
FiE	Forschungen in Ephesos
FuB	Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Glasnik	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu
HA-ESI	Hadashot Arkheologiyot – Excavations and Surveys in Israel
Hama	Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg
HEROM	Journal of Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture
Hesperia	Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
IAA Reports	Israel Antiquities Authority Reports
IARPotHP	International Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptones Graecae
IGLS	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie
IGRom	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
Iliria	Iliria. Revistë arkeologjike
IsrMusStA	Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology
IsrNumJ	Israel Numismatic Journal
IsrNumR	Israel Numismatic Research
JASc	Journal of Archaeological Science
JAncEgInter	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnection
JbBerlMus	Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen
JbÖByz	Jahrbuch der Österrreichischen Byzantinistik
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JEA	The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JGS	Journal of Glass Studies
JHP	Journal of Hellenistic Pottery and Material Culture
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMedA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JNG	Jahrbuch für Numismatic und Geldgeschichte
JPOS	The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies
KAI	Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften
Kerameikos	Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen
Klio	Klio. Beiträge zur aten Geschichte
Kokalos	Κώκαλος. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Palermo

KSIA	Kratkie soobščenija o dokladach i polevych issledovanijach Instituta archeologii
Kush	Kush. Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM)
LibyaAnt	Libya antiqua
LIMC	Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae
LSJ	H. G. Liddle & R. Scott & H. S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford 1925–1940)
Maarav	Maarav. A Journal for the Study of the Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures
Makedonika	Μακεδονικά. Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν της Εταιρείας Μακεδονικών Σπουδών
MatIsslA	Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
MedA	Mediterranean Archaeology
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École française du Rome. Antiquité
MelBeyrouth	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph
MemAmAc	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
MetrMusJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal
Mnemosyne	Mnemosyne. A Journal of Classical Studies
MonPiot	Monuments et mémoires. Fondation E. Piot
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
NGSBAArchJ	Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology. Archaeology Journal
NGWG	Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse
Nikephoros	Nikephoros. Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur m Altertum
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs. American Numismatic Society
NSc	Notizie degli scavi di antichità
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus. Series archaeologica
OCK	A. Oxé – H. Comfort, Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum. A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes, and Chronology of Italian Sigillata, 2nd ed., completely revised and enlarged by Ph. Kenrick (Bonn 2000)
Olynthus	Excavations at Olynthus
OxfJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
PCZ	Papyri Cairo Zenon
PEFQS	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PF	Pergamenische Forschungen
Phoenix	Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada
Prakt	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
ProcAmPhilSoc	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PSI	Papyri greci e latini. Publicationi della Societá Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto
Qadmoniot	Qadmoniot. A Journal for the Antiquities of Eretz-Israel and Bible Lands
QDAP	The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
RA	Revue archéologique
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum

RB	Revue Biblique
RCRFActa	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften
REG	Revue des études grecque
ScrClIsr	Scripta classica Israelica. Yearbook of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Greacum
Semitica	Semitica. Cahiers publiés par l'institut d'études sémitiques du College de France
SHAJ	Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan
SIG	W. Dittenberger, Sylloge inscriptionum Graecorum (Leipzig 1915–1924)
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SNG	Sylloge nummorum Graecorum
SovA	Sovetskaja archeologija
StAnt	Studi di antichità. Università di Lecce
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki institut Beograd
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Strata	Strata. Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society (since 2009; from 1982–2008 s. ***BAngloIsrASoc***)
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie
Talanta	Τάλαντα. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society
Taras	Taras. Rivista di archeologia
TelAvivJA	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University
TOM	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen
TransactAmPhilAss	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philosophical Assocation
TransAmPhilosSoc	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
VDI	Vestnik drevnej istorii
Xenia	Xenia. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen
ZborMuzBeograd	Zbornik Narodnog muzej Beograd
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigrafik

Other Abbreviations

BCE	Before the Christian Era	***inv.***	inventory
bibl.	bibliography	***L.***	length
c.	century	***max.***	maximum
ca.	circa	***min.***	minimum
cat.	catalogue	***Mus.***	Museum
CE	Christian Era	***no(s).***	number(s)
cent.	century	***p.***	page
cf.	compare	***pl(s).***	plate(s)
cm	centimeter	***pp.***	pages
D.	Diameter	***pres.***	preserved
ed(s).	editor(s)	***rest.***	restored
e.g.	for example	***rev.***	review
est.	estimated	***Suppl.***	supplement
etc.	et cetera	***s.v.***	sub voce
fasc.	fascicle	***Th.***	thickness
fig(s).	figure(s)	***us.***	unstratified
fr.	fragment/s	***W.***	width
gr.	gram/s	***Wt.***	weight
H.	height	***vol(s).***	volume(s)

Articles

Understanding the Jal el-Bahr Storage-Jar Assemblage

Donald T. Ariel

Introduction

In my research of the archive of 2.048 sealings uncovered at Tel Kedesh[1] in Upper Galilee, Israel, I encountered articles written by the Lebanese archaeologist Ibrahim Kawkabani, and published in ›Archaeology and History in Lebanon‹[2]. In those detailed articles is a wealth of information about finds from »systématiquement« excavations (elsewhere described as »some soundings«[3]) – directed by Maurice Chéhab?[4] at Jal el-Bahr, a site at the northeastern entrance to ancient Tyre[5], beginning in 1972. The publication of such a great amount of new inscribed Phoenician material is not only relevant to my research on the inscribed material from Kedesh, but also important to understanding the workings of Tyre, its bureaucracy and administration, especially in the second century BCE.

Although I originally examined the finds from Jal el-Bahr in order to contextualize a few of the sealings found at Kedesh it quickly became clear that one category of finds from Jal el-Bahr, an assemblage of stamped local storage-jar handles from the Hellenistic period, is almost on par in its importance with the exciting remains of a Tyrian archive at Kedesh. This study is the result of that realization. In this review article I present the fruit of my analysis of the richly

1 At Kedesh, a village in the chora of Tyre (*Ios. bell. Iud.* 2, 459; 4, 104), a regional administrative center (56 × 40 m) excavated between 1997 and 2010 by a team from the University of Michigan, University of Minnesota and Boston University included an archive dated to the first half of the 2nd cent. BCE. Just before the archive was destroyed by fire, Kedesh was the regrouping spot of a Seleucid force led by Demetrius II after a battle with Jonathan Apphus in 144/3 BCE (1 *Macc* 11, 63–67). A preliminary description of the administrative center and the archive in which the sealings were found was published in 2003 (Herbert – Berlin 2003, 50–53) and later (Herbert 2013). Of the 2.048 sealings 1.717 were preserved to the point where its face could be identified, and 1.308 seals were identified, as detailed in the final report, already in press (Herbert – Ariel forthcoming). Most of the sealings related to the Jal el-Bahr finds were preliminarily published in 2003 (Ariel – Naveh 2003). I am grateful to Sharon C. Herbert and Andrea M. Berlin, directors of the excavations, for inviting me to work with them toward the final report on the Kedesh archive. I also thank Yaniv Schauer, who enhanced the generally poor photographs in Kawkabani 2003; Kawkabani 2005 and Bossone 2013, to create the illustrations for this review article.

2 Kawkabani 2003; Kawkabani 2005; Kawkabani 2008.

3 Kawkabani 2005, 5.

4 Elayi 2004, 193.

5 See map on p. 98 of Kawkabani 2003.

detailed, but also problematic, publications by Kawkabani of the exceptional assemblage of Tyrian stamped handles from Jal el-Bahr.

In order to reduce redundancy vis-à-vis what may be learned from the latest finds from the Tyrian cultural milieu in the 2nd cent. BCE, and the new expressions of Tyrian administration from that time, the forthcoming Kedesh archive volume is the most appropriate place where those subjects will be discussed. This is because little is known about the occupational history of the Jal el-Bahr site besides some tidbits in Kawkabani's publications. Much more is known about the Hellenistic-period local storage-jar handle assemblage in Kawkabani's 2005 article, and on an assemblage of 183 Aegean stamped handles[6] found with the storage-jar assemblage. The Kedesh excavations were certainly more robust and are therefore the place for the larger archaeological and historical analyses. In this review article I will occasionally refer to some comparable items noted in that volume — especially when discussions there support of my understandings of the Jal el-Bahr materials.

The archive at Kedesh is one of three archives now known in the Seleucid southern Levant. The second archive comprises 99 sealings found at Tel Iẓṭabba[7], and the third was discovered in 2018 at the Idumean capital at Maresha (Marisa), now only beginning to be examined[8]. Moreover, the Idumean capital at Maresha is not in Phoenicia, while the administrative building at Kedesh was not merely Phoenician: it was clearly in the sphere of Tyre, being (over a century later) »a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians« (BJ 4.104). The writer of 1 *Maccabees* identified Kedesh as the place where a Tyrian force led by Demetrius II regrouped after a battle with Jonathan Apphus in 144/3 BCE (1 *Macc* 11, 63–67). The events of that year may have brought about the destruction of the Kedesh archive.

The relatively large archive at Kedesh, found in a large administrative building with public functions dating back to the Achaemenid period, produced evidence of significant activity in which officials were involved. As I develop the dating in this review article, it will become clear that Kedesh archive closely overlaps the period of the Jal el-Bahr storage-jar assemblage.

The site at Jal el-Bahr was accidentally discovered in 1972; perhaps some stamped handles with their Phoenician inscriptions were uncovered before controlled excavations were begun. The site was then excavated by Kawkabani, a senior archaeologist (»chef de service des fouilles«[9]) of the Lebanese Department of Antiquities[10].

The site is very close to the Mediterranean Sea, some two km northeast of the centre of ancient Tyre (**fig. 1**). A Hellenistic temple with well-drafted ashlars (**fig. 2**) dedicated to the cult of Melqart was identified on the site, and the stamped handle assemblage on torpedo-shaped storage jars — mixed with remains of Aegean amphoras — was excavated within that precinct. Jal el-Bahr may have had an Achaemenid phase[11], but what interests me here is the Hellenistic

6 Kawkabani 2008, 6–53, nos. J-B 167–305; 307–350. One (p. 40, J-B 306) is not a stamped but an incised handle.

7 Mazor – Atrash 2018.

8 The Tel Iẓṭabba archive is private in character (Mazor – Atrash 2018, 127), and the Maresha archive also seems to be. In addition, these two archives overlap the Kedesh archive in its dating — and, I argue here, also the Jal el-Bahr assemblages — extending further in date, probably three decades later than the end of the Kedesh archive (ca.144 BCE), into the period of autonomy after the collapse of Seleucid hegemony in Phoenicia.
I am indebted to Ian Stern for allowing me to examine the over 1.000 sealings found in the archive discovered and excavated by him at Tel Maresha (Marisa) in 2018.

9 Kawkabani 2005, 4.

10 It seems that Kawkabani was not the last person to excavate there. Elayi noted that a more recent excavator was named N. Saroufim (Elayi 2004, 194).

11 According to Joanne Bajjaly's report of a presentation at the American University of Beirut's museum in 2012, where Ali Badawi, a Tyre antiquities official, reported that the cultic structure at the site was a »Phoenician temple dating back to the 5th century BC« (Bajjaly 2012).

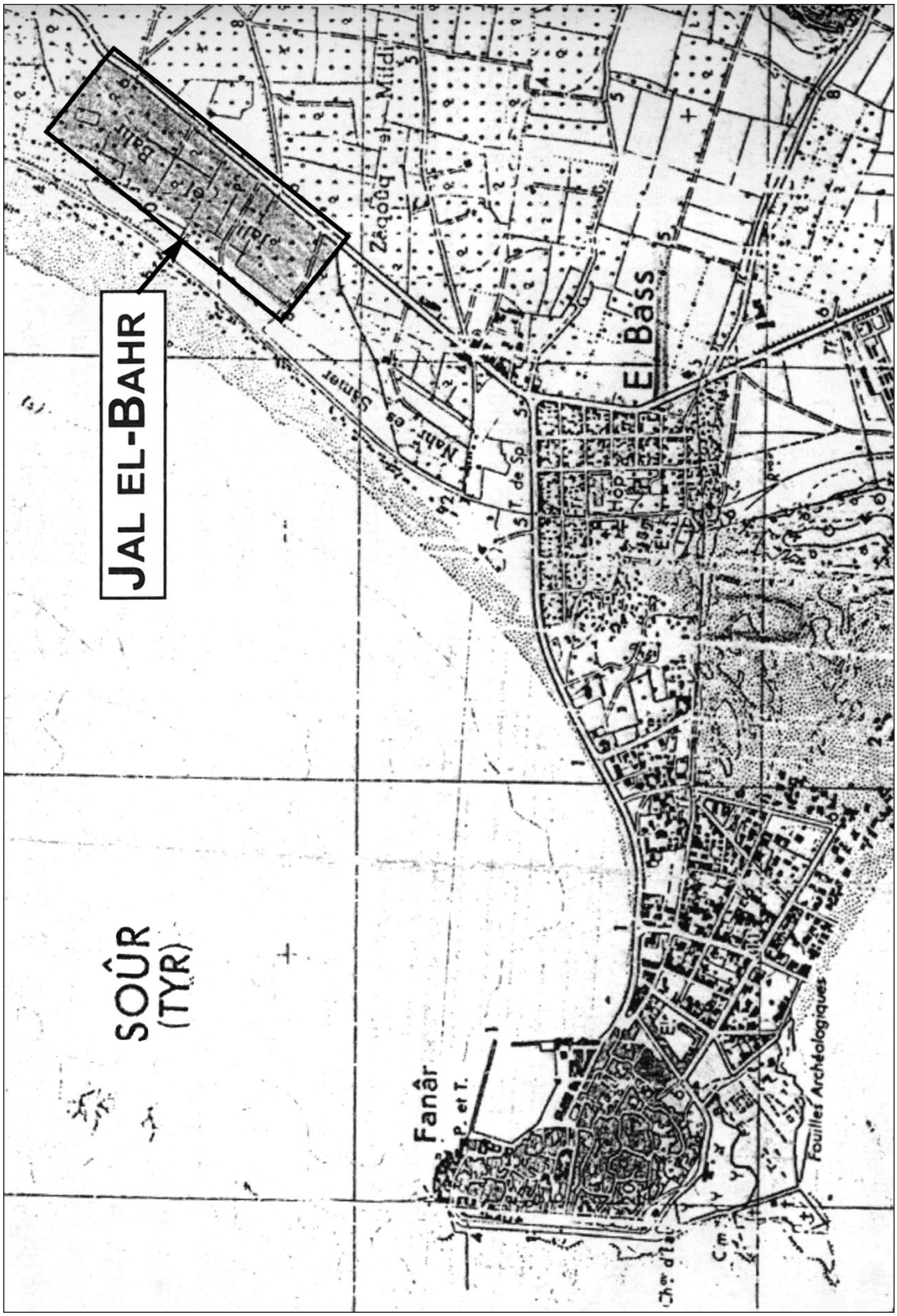


Fig. 1: Modern map of Tyre with location of Jal el-Bahr (from Kawkabani 2003, 98 fig. 8)

Fig. 2: Jal el-Bahr temple soon after Kawkabani's excavation, viewed from east (from Kawkabani 2005, 5 fig. 2; see also Kawkabani 2008, 2 fig. 1).

period, and particularly the Seleucid portion of that period, in which most of the reported finds are datable.

Stamped Storage-Jar Handles Inscribed in Phoenician

Kawkabani's first article (2003) presented the site and surveyed the local storage-jar assemblage mostly with stamps with Phoenician inscriptions, but also bilingual Phoenician-Greek inscriptions on their handles. The second article (2005) focused on the stamps on the storage-jar handles, providing a wealth of information. The third article in 2008 introduced the fact that stamped handles of Aegean transport amphoras were also found, and presented that material in a detailed way.

Of the 164 storage-jar handle stamps found at Jal el-Bahr, presented in robust detail in Kawkabani's 2005 article, 23 were illegible. Kawkabani reconstructed that the jars were normally impressed on one of the jars' two handles. He reported that the stamps contained two elements: a personal name, which Kawkabani considered a fabricant (on the model of Greek amphoras)[12], and a date[13].

The stamps, all apparently oval[14], were applied to the highest part of the curvature of the twisted handles of the storage jars before firing, resulting in many cases of poor impressions[15]. Hence, in addition to the 23 illegible stamps, there are unfortunately numerous difficulties in relying upon portions of Kawkabani's presentation. Moreover, the photographs, which are generally poor and were published only for the legible stamps, affect one's ability to check the epigraphic and iconographic information. In a short discussion of the finds, Elayi noted this problem as well[16], but proceeded, with caution, with provisional remarks on the readings.

12 Later, Finkielsztejn suggested that the personal names on the earlier (pre-Jal el-Bahr) stamped Tyrian handles identified the agoranomos, the official responsible for supervision of the markets, including the accuracy of weights and measures (Finkielsztejn 1998, 114). Only one sealing of an agoranomos is known to me, from Goumani in Thesprotia (Preka-Alexandri 1989, 171 fig. 13).

13 Kawkabani 2003, 95.

14 Kawkabani did not track how many of the jar handle stamps were vertically oval and how many are horizontally oval. From the images of the Jal al-Bahr assemblage, there seem to be majority of vertical oval stamps, but a significant minority of ›wide‹ oval stamps.

15 Kawkabani 2003, 95.

16 Elayi 2004, 195.

The stamps open new paths of inquiry into Tyrian administrative practices in the twilight of the Seleucid era. Kawkabani realized their importance for reconstructing the social, commercial and cultural life of Tyre, and that is clearly why he focused the two articles on his excavations on these finds. Despite numerous differences in the layout of the inscriptions on the stamps, there is an obvious overall uniformity to them. As noted, they are oval. They were cut in a free-hand, non-lapidary style, in between two to six rows, thus producing a large amount of text to be deciphered.

The texts themselves are uniform in content, although not in organization. The major components of the texts are numerals, most if not all of which represent dates, and certain key words, not all of which are understood. Short words appear, many of which are presumed to be personal names, but some could be places or institutions. Finally, there is the word, *št*, which introduces some, but not all of the dates, and the formula *'m ṣr*, with and without prepositional letters, which signifies the PoTE[17]; for more on the PoTE era see below). Occasionally, small symbols are added, as are isolated letters.

Most interesting is the high quantity of stamps. There are almost as many seals that were incised over many decades as there are stamps. Kawkabani knew of one pair of stamped handles impressed with the same seal: he described J-B 34 as two handles with identical impressions[18]. Another possible identical pair is J-B 36 and 90.

One of the obvious aspects of the many stamped Phoenician handles at Jal el-Bahr that is remarkable is that they were most likely found together. Although it appears unusual that storage jars — and Aegean transport amphoras — were found in a small temple compound, we are told that both assemblages derived from either within the temple, or in its surrounding temenos. There is little discussion of specific stratigraphic relationships in Kawkabani's 2005 report. Beside this general statement above about the finds' context, we are not given any more exact information, neither about their stratification (above a floor? below a floor?) or other objects found with the broken remains of those large vessels[19]. No chronological statement is proffered about the common wares, or other datable material, such as coins that may have been found. The lack of detail on these points is understood, as the articles are preliminary reports highlighting the exceptional finds from the excavation. Today, however, the absence of precise stratigraphic and chronological detail is strongly felt, well over a decade after the articles appeared, because no further publication has been forthcoming.

We are left with the stamped Phoenician-inscribed handles, and the Greek-inscribed stamps on imported Aegean amphoras — and a desire to know, at the least, the date of these assemblages. Can the chronological range of the deposit of the presumably local storage jars at Jal el-Bahr be unpacked from the plentiful details that have been published? Do the dates on the handles cluster in any way? Our starting point will be the unique Phoenician assemblage.

For the overwhelming majority of the stamps Kawkabani successfully read the inscriptions (e.g., **fig. 3**) and tallied the dates. For the most part, he determined correctly that the Seleucid era (SE) or the People of Tyre era were the eras for the dates. On the stamps, the SE dates seem always to appear above the PoTE dates. No designations naming the SE dates as such were found, but a few of the ›lower‹ inscriptions preserve the identity of their era as the

17 The People of Tyre Era, literally »of the people of Tyre«, was established when Tyre's last king was deposed, and a republic was formed (Jones 1937, 239). It has also been described as »la première ère de Tyr« (Elayi 2004, 195) or, in other words, the era before the one announced upon the disintegration of Seleucid hegemony. That later era, which began in 125 BCE, is denoted ATE (Autonomous Tyrian Era) in this article.

18 Kawkabani 2005, 24.

19 Kawkabani has a section on »le contexte archéologique« (Kawkabani 2005, 65–68), in which he notes the »les plus significatifs« objects. Of them, the only datable items I was able to identify were: a typical 2nd century BCE molded ceramic oil lamp (p. 66); a fusiform unguentarium, typical of the Hellenistic period, which he dates to between the 2nd and 1st cent. BCE; and a Rhodian stamped amphora handle, which seems illegible and does not appear in the 2008 publication.

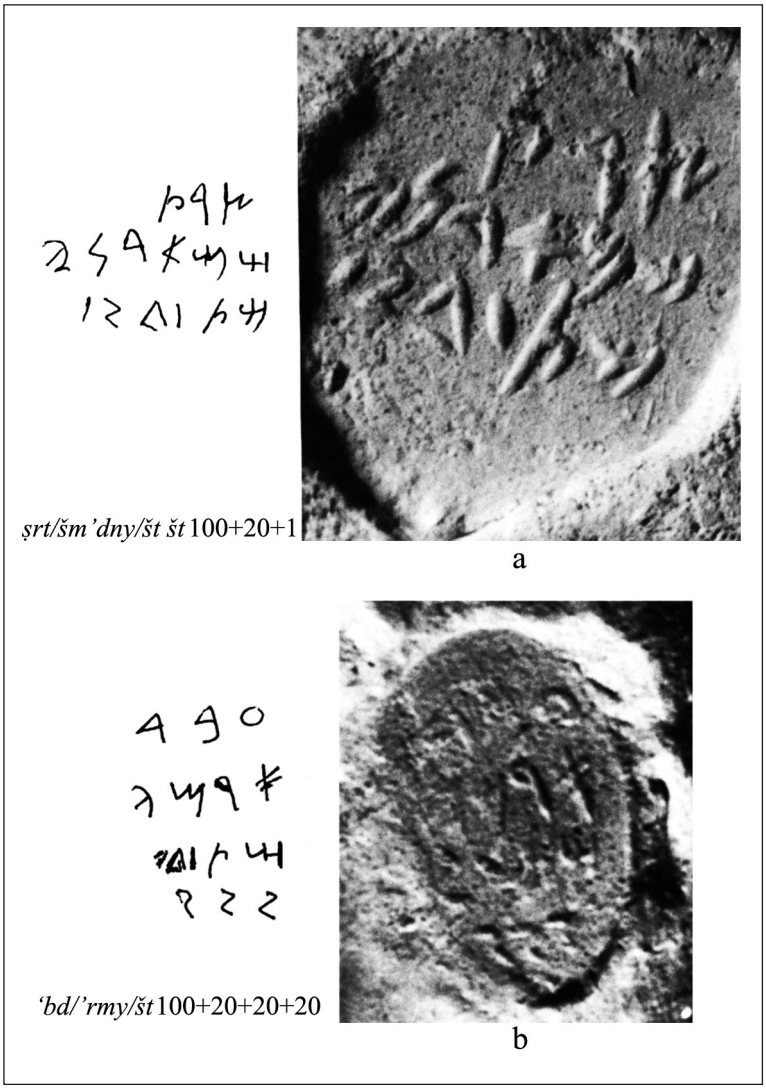


Fig. 3:
Examples of two well-preserved, well photographed and apparently well deciphered stamp impressions.

a. Stamp impression J-B 5 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 12).
Kawkabani's reading is *ṣrt / šm'dny / št* 100+20+1.
The date (121), according to SE, is 192/1 BCE.

b. Stamp impression J-B 1 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 10).
Kawkabani's reading is *'bd / 'rmy / št* 100+20+20+20.
The date (160), according to SE, is 153/2 BCE.

PoTE. The full formula *št l'm ṣr*[20] (›year [according to the era] of the people of Tyre {numerals}‹) appears four times[21], and in two cases the numerals come in between the *št* and the *l'm ṣr* formula (›year {numerals} [according to the era] of the people of Tyre‹][22]. Generally, however, only the word *št* is found, before the number.

20 In the Jal al-Bahr assemblage, *št* appears without prefix (Kawkabani 2005, 62). I know of one exception to this, on the unprovenanced sealing published by Bordreuil, which reads *bšt* (Bordreuil 1995, 190–191; Bordreuil 1996, 48–49).

21 Kawkabani 2005, 17 J-B 18; 35 J-B 60; 37 J-B 70; 39 J-B 74.

22 Kawkabani 2005, 43 J-B 84; 46 J-B 93. On the same unprovenanced sealing in note 20 above, the number also appears between the *št* and the *l'm ṣr*. The word *št* also appears before the generally larger SE date. Consequently, in the majority of cases where only one number is legible, it can be difficult to identify to which of the two eras the number is referring. There are other ›exceptions‹, such as p. 48, J-B 98, where *št* precedes a large (presumably SE) date, then is followed by a word (*ṣrt*, presumably referring to Tyre) and then *l'm ṣr*. In that case, one may guess that the PoTE date followed the formula, but was not preserved in the impression.

From among the 124[23] stamped handles with Phoenician inscriptions found at Jal el-Bahr, five were sufficiently well preserved[24] to determine that the first date that appears on the stamps is a SE date, and in those cases no words designating them as SE appear before the numerals[25]. This arrangement, the SE date before the PoTE date, is found outside of Jal el-Bahr, on the only three double-dated objects known to me with SE and PoTE dates. They are the long-known inscription on a marble plaque from Umm el-Ämed[26], a lead scale weight[27] and a seal represented by two sealings in the Kedesh archive[28]. They also do not designate the SE explicitly, but, like the four bilingual (Phoenician text and date in Greek numerals preceded by the sign L) stamped storage-jar impressions at Jal el-Bahr (below), the Seleucid date appears before the PoTE date. In addition, like the Jal el-Bahr bilingual stamps, the SE date on the scale weight is preceded by the L sign. The only inscription known to me that does cite the SE explicitly is the above-mentioned Umm el-Ämed inscription[29], where the SE is given in Phoenician: *bšt 180 l'dn mlkm* (›in the year 180 of the lord of kings‹).

It is clear that the absence of any designation for the SE is due to its pervasiveness in the empire[30], and it is also clear that a hierarchy of dates exists on the double-dated citations of the SE and the PoTE, including the Jal el-Bahr stamps. The SE date comes first[31]. This suggests that even though the Tyrian administrators, who obviously made great efforts to include the PoTE on their *instrumenta publica*, recognized that the SE date was the either the more important of the two eras, or more commonly used, or both[32].

Phoenician-inscribed handles have been collected by Finkielsztejn and Elayi[33] – and classified in slightly different ways. Their classifications, however, were made before Kawakabani's articles. With the exceptionally large find at Jal el-Bahr, it is now clear that Finkielsztejn's Group G[34] and Elayi's Groups I–III and VI[35] are the most numerous groups of Phoenician-inscribed stamped handles. Because the Jal el-Bahr finds are characterized by an emphasis on year dates in the inscriptions, this makes them closest to the description of Finkielsztejn's Group G[36]. Besides the Jal el-Bahr assemblage, other Phoenician-inscribed

23 The calculation of 124 does not include the stamps with dates in Greek letters (Kawkabani 2005, 28 J-B 44; 39 J-B 73; 51 J-B 107; 60 J-B 132).

24 Kawkabani noted that there were eight impressions with double-dated inscriptions (Kawkabani 2005, 62), but examination of the catalogue entries shows that only two impressions (p. 34 J-B 57 and p. 36 J-B 63), bear double dates.

25 Kawkabani 2005, 30 J-B 47; 33 J-B 57; 36 J-B 63; 37 J-B 68; 43 J-B 84. According to Kosmin, the SE served as »a synecdoche of the empire« (Kosmin 2018, 49). In a sense, then, it is not surprising that the pervasiveness of the SE obviated the need for the number representing the SE to be explicitly identified.

26 Umm el-Ämed is located some 20 km south of Tyre, near modern Naqoura (Dunand – Duru 1962, 181–184).

27 Finkielsztejn 2003, 478–480; Finkielsztejn 2015, 92 no. 147.

28 Ariel forthcoming, INS 002.

29 *CIS* I/1, 29–32 no. 7; *KAI*, no. 18. The second date employs the familiar formula, also in Phoenician, *l'm ṣr* (›[according to the era] of the people of Tyre‹).

30 See above, note 25.

31 Although this is not the case with all double-dated inscriptions involving the SE; e.g. Kosmin 2018, 40.

32 Even where other time systems were noted, the SE would »be retained as an overarching, umbrella referent« (Kosmin 2018, 100).

33 Finkielsztejn 1998; Elayi 2003.

34 Finkielsztejn 1998, 107–109.

35 Classed in four subdivisions using formulaic characteristics; Elayi 2003, 28. 30.

36 Finkielsztejn 2004, 250 n. 19.

Fig. 4:
Partial view of the Jal el-Bahr temple as re-exposed in 2012 (from Bossone 2013; caption: The discovered Phoenician temple has a frieze of Egyptian gorges decorating at least one wall).

stamped storage-jar handles have been found at Ákko (×5), Kabri (×1)[37], Sarepta (×1)[38] and Beirut (×4)[39]. Thanks to the mention of Tyre on most of them, and the common morphology of the vessels[40], these handles are correctly identified as having been produced in Tyre[41].

The stamped handles from the four abovementioned sites have more in common than their differences, and one may wonder what this group can inform us about Tyrian administration. A key to that answer is most likely to be found at Jal el-Bahr.

This important assemblage of inscribed seal impressions on storage-jar handles, in the 2005 article, has barely received notice in subsequent publication. Despite Elayi's comments on Kawkabani's 2003 report, in which she stressed the importance of the finds[42], and wrote: »il faut souhaitre une publication archéologique rapide et complète afin de voir si l'on peut répondre à certaines de ces questions«[43], almost no mention and certainly no in-depth analysis of the discovery since the first of Kawkabani's articles has appeared. The only citation of the 2005 article known to me on the Jal el-Bahr Phoenician stamped handles, besides Kawkabani 2008, seems to be Sader 2007 (passim). Based upon online press reports that I was able to locate, I have only been able to reconstruct that in addition to the objects which Kawkabani presented from Jal el-Bahr, the site itself was effectively forgotten, only to be rediscovered in 2011 or 2012 hidden beneath 4 m of bamboo[44] (**fig. 4**). That report is difficult to fathom, as the preservation of the temple was quite substantial[45]. Portions of the interior were nicely

37 Both published in Naveh 1997.

38 Elayi 2003, 17–21.

39 Sader 2006, 567–570; Sader 2007, 58–63 nos. 1–3.

40 E.g., Sader 2006, 567.

41 One stamped handle from Beirut (Sader 2007, 62–63 no. 4) is not Tyrian.

42 Elayi 2004, 192–194.

43 Elayi 2004, 196.

44 Bajjaly 2012; Bossone 2013; Maria Luca – Chehayed 2013. Atrash, Mazor and Aboud knew only of Bossone's 2013 report, where only Tyre was given as the location and Jal el-Bahr was not specified (Atrash et al. 2018, 66). Based on the published photo, they described its construction and compared it to another six structures identified as temples located along the Phoenician coastline, including the new site of Ḥorbat Turit that they published. The authors concluded that the temples »display a wide variety of structures both in plan and dimensions« but that all seemed to date to the Hellenistic Period (Atrash et al. 2018, 66–67).

45 Kawkabani 2003, 9; 2005, 7.

appointed, having been painted in four colours in an architectural style[46]. Moreover, the presence of multi-storied buildings nearby, and a free-standing corrugated roof protecting the structure from the elements, the report of the site's disappearance and subsequent rediscovery in 2011 is incongruous.

After the 2003 publication I attempted to contact Ibrahim Kawkabani by email to express my interest in the finds from Jal el-Bahr, but received no reply. Years later, communication was facilitated between Kawkabani and myself[47]. Unfortunately, the interaction was short-lived. The continued importance of the assemblage for the study of Tyre remained great. I also recognized that there was no certainty that the objects found as much as 47 years ago, before Lebanon's civil war, are still extant[48]. Consequently, despite the lack of access to both the material itself, or even to high-quality images of the stamps, which I had requested but did not receive, I proceeded to judiciously analyze Kawkabani's published readings of the stamped local storage-jar handles.

My critical examination of the published material at Jal el-Bahr has been guided by two underlying assumptions. The first is methodological. In dealing with the problematic material in the articles, and particularly the readings, which sometimes did not match the drawings or the photographs, it seemed methodologically appropriate to accept Kawkabani's readings except in cases where there were internal discrepancies between the author's text, transcriptions and drawings, and except in cases where the resulting dates were obvious outliers. In the latter ›outlier‹ cases, I endeavored to check the images more carefully — aware that the images were generally poor. This underlying assumption permitted me to disregard the majority of the Phoenician stamps at Jal el-Bahr whose readings may or may not have been precise, and may or may not have become obvious outliers as regards their dates, were I to examine them more closely.

My second underlying assumption was that the practice of stamping the storage jars was restricted in date. This assumption is based upon four observations, which themselves rely on a further minor assumption, that municipalities in antiquity rarely carried out their administrative practices for very long periods.

1. Therefore, as the contents of the stamps suggest that they were impressed by the city of Tyre, and not by a private initiative, one need not expect a long-lived stamping practice.
2. The type of stamped storage jars found in significant quantity at Jal el-Bahr appear not to have been scattered throughout the region, because they have not been found, to date, elsewhere in the archaeological record. An obvious place to expect to find such stamped handles is Tyre itself of course, but also at the thoroughly-excavated Hellenistic administrative building at Tell Kedesh, 36 km to the southeast. The absence of these finds elsewhere supports the idea that the stamping did not last long.
3. The onomasticon of what appear to be personal names on the stamps in the assemblage is rather restricted. Examples of this are five sets of two different seals of the same year and with the same name: 52+111 (year 113), 19+22(?) (year 118), 77+78 (year 122), 36+59 (year 142), 50+109 (year 143).
   The chronology of the repeated (apparent) personal names is also restricted. Among the Jal el-Bahr storage-jar handle impressions the shortest range is of 20 years (mnḥm)[49]. There

46 Kawkabani 2005, 6.

47 My thanks to Claude Doumet-Serhal for her aid in making contact between Ibrahim Kawkabani and myself. Telephone contact was made with Mr. Kawkabani on March 17, 2017, but no answers to my questions were forthcoming.

48 The site itself had been covered (recouvert) before the war (Elayi 2004, 193).

49 Kawkabani 2005, 16 J-B 16 [year 161]; 29 J-B 43 [year 180].

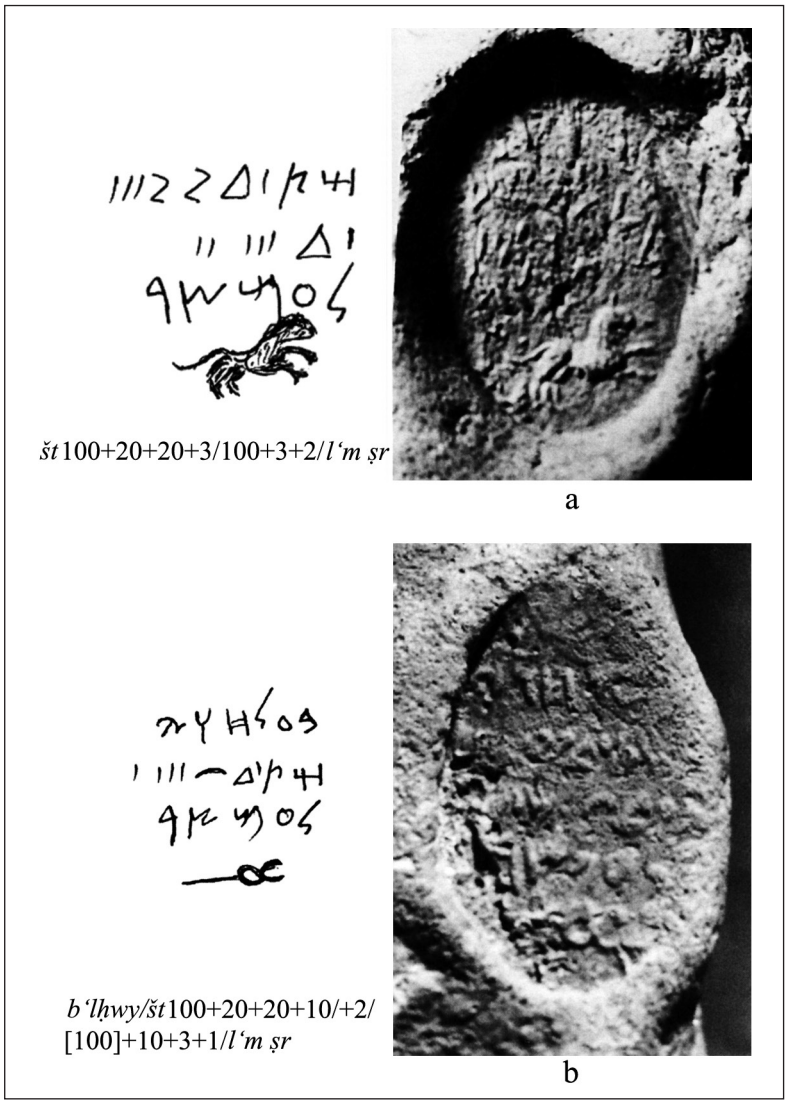


Fig. 5:
Examples of two double-dated stamp impressions.

a. Stamp impression J-B 68 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 38 [the second line is missing from Kawkabani's inscription drawing]).
Kawkabani's reading is *šṭ* 100+20+20+3 / 100+3+2 / *l ʿm ṣr*.
The date, 143 according to SE and 105 according to PoTE, is 170/69 BCE.

b. Stamp impression J-B 47 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 30).
Kawkabani's reading is *b ʿl ḥwy* / *šṭ* 100+20+20+10 / +2 / [100]+10+3+1 / *l ʿm ṣr* / caduceus.
The date, 152 according to SE and 114 according to PoTE, is 161/0 BCE.

is a 19- year range for *gry*[50], but *gry* may be a generic hypocoristic of ›client of the Lord‹[51]. For other words, such as the forms *mṣry* or *mṣrym* there is even less certainty that they are personal names[52].

4. There are definite indications of two eras on the Jal el-Bahr stamps, the Seleucid Era (SE) and the era of the People of Tyre (PoTE). They are the textual indication of the PoTE dates (*šṭ …l ʿm ṣr*) on the stamps and for the SE, the appropriate difference of years between the PoTE and SE dates on the double-date stamps (e.g., **fig. 5**). There is no evidence of dates according to the autonomous era of Tyre (ATE), neither through an explicit textual

50 Kawkabani 2005, 20 J-B 25 [year 102]; 21 J-B 28 [year 120].

51 Sader 2006, 568. Sader's discussion comes in the context of her reading of a stamp in Beirut naming *gry* — if the difficult reading of the Beirut stamp can be trusted. The reading of the date on the Beirut stamp reinforces the generic nature of the word. In addition, the word at Beirut diverges from the dates giving by Kawkabani for *gry* at Jal el-Bahr by some 42 years.
Elayi considered *ʿrmy* as perhaps the name of a deity (Elayi 2004, 195). Expectedly, the Tyrian deity's name, *mlqrt*, appears numerous times. The complete word is found 17 times (Kawkabani 2005, 10–61 J-B 2. 6–7. 34–35. 39. 42. 60. 77–78. 83. 93. 97. 99. 105. 110. 131 and 164) and *mlqrt* is restored by Kawkabani another 6 times (Kawkabani 2005, 35–58 J-B 60. 81. 87. 92. 114 and 128).

52 A second option is that the root of *mṣr* is *ṣr*, with either the *mem* acting as a preposition, meaning ›from Tyre‹, or the *mem* being the final letter of the preceding word. That raises a third tantalizing possibility. The word *mṣrm* on J-B 140 may simply be read as relating to the date, as in *l ʿm ṣr m*, ›(according to the era) of the people of Tyre‹ + *m*.

indication of the date nor on the basis of a double date. Kawkabani's assignation of other eras to dates on a minority of the stamps appear to be methodologically unsound. More on this subject is found below.

All four observations suggest that the practice of stamping the storage jars was restricted in date, making that my second underlying assumption.

A support for a restricted timespan of the stamping practice is the multiplication of stamps citing the same year. Here I have to assume that the eras of the stamps naming the same years reference the same era, which is something that cannot be proven. Twelve separate years are represented by three or more stamps (years 113, 120, 122–125, 140, 142–143, 145–146, 161). The highest number of handles for a single year is 10 (for year 143)[53]. Admittedly, there is uncertainty with the numbers just mentioned. As noted, the likelihood is that those years reference the two eras, SE and PoTE, is clearly attested. Which one of the eras is intended can only be distinguished in stamps where both are attested; i.e., double dates. In the above case of 10 stamped handles for year 143, although there are 11 stamps attesting to that year, because J-B 57 is a stamp with a double date, and year 143 is definitely the SE date, I can only count 10 stamps. But, mathematically, even in that case, there are at least 5 stamps falling in the same year, regardless of era.

Beyond the four observations, the clear sense that the dates on the stamped storage-jar handles were restricted comes from the dates on the stamped handles themselves.

In his 2005 article, Kawkabani concluded that the chronological profile of the assemblage extended between 206 and 115 BCE[54]. In his 2008 article, he noted a different date range for the Tyrian assemblage, »comme c'est déjà prouvé« (!?), as 237–135 BCE[55]. Because of this inconsistency, and others I had identified, I set about examining which of the Jal el-Bahr stamps produced the beginning and end dates of Kawkabani's two chronological conclusions. I also wanted to see whether my examination of the outliers would produce a new chronological range. An important question for me related to 125 BCE — the universally accepted date of the later autonomous era of Tyre (ATE). Would it be necessary to view any of the SE dates, presumed to be those appearing at the top of the stamp impressions, or any of the PoTE dates lower down as extending beyond the beginning of the ATE, 125 BCE?

At Jal el-Bahr, two handles have dates lower than 100. The first is J-B 45, whose stamp is dated to year 7 by Kawkabani. Examination of the photograph, however, suggests to me that after the name (*ḥn*) a vertical stroke is legible before the impression is broken off. The vertical stroke can only introduce a hundred sign; thus, dates of 107 or higher are likely. This would bring J-B 45's BCE date down to the end of the 3rd century (206/5 BCE, if a SE date) or 2nd century (169/8 BCE, if a PoTE date).

The second earliest datable stamped handle reads 71 (actually »seventy one« in Phoenician letters and not numerals[56]. It, however, is clearly dated by the PoTE. Based upon a 275 or 274 era[57] for the People of Tyre this translates to 205/4 or 204/3 BCE[58].

53 Kawkabani's cautious guess of 143 as the date in J-B 106 is improbable.

54 Kawkabani 2005, 68.

55 Kawkabani 2005, 55 on the Greek-stamped amphora handles.

56 Kawkabani 2005, 38 J-B 69; Finkielsztejn 2004, 251.

57 The formulation for the beginning date of the PoTE used in this article, ›275 or 274 BCE‹, is explained below, in the section entitled ›The Absolute Date of PoTE‹.

58 This is very close to Kawkabani's earliest date (in his 2005 report) of 206 BCE. However, according to Kawkabani's 275/4 date of PoTE, 71 years would translate to 204/3BCE. Another way of reaching Kawkabani's 206 BCE earliest date is to accept, as I suggested, that the date J-B 45 (p. 29) is not 7 but 107 (possibly seen in the photograph) and suppose it is SE. Kawkabani, however, did not indicate this, and I do not know to which stamped handle he was referring when he provided his earliest date of 206 BCE.

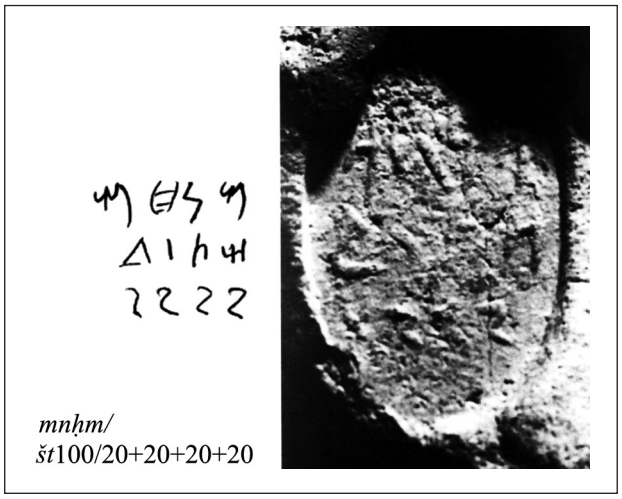


Fig. 6:
Stamp impression J-B 43 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 29).
Kawkabani's reading is
mnḥm / *št* 100 / 20+20+20+20.
That 180 reading — if PoTE (96/5 or 95/4 BCE) — dates the impression 30 years beyond the beginning of the ATE, and is therefore methodologically not possible.

Identifying what was the latest dated stamped handle at Jal el-Bahr was more difficult. The latest date read at Jal el-Bahr is 180 (J-B 43; **fig. 6**), and it is not clear with which era to associate it. According to the SE year 180 would be 133/2 BCE, and according to the PoTE, 96/5 or 95/4 BCE. Methodologically, using the PoTE era for J-B 43 is impossible, as 96/5 (or 95/4) BCE falls 30 years beyond the beginning of the ATE, which began in 125 BCE. J-B 43, thus, bears a SE date of 133/2 BCE, seven years before the beginning of the ATE[59].

After year 180, the next earlier group of dates are years 160, 161, 163, 160+ (=165?)[60], 166 and 168, representing 11 handles (J-B 1 and 8 [year 160]; J-B 16, 24 and 64 [year 161]; J-B 44 and 108 [year 163]; J-B 132 [year 160+ (=165?)]; J-B 105 [year 166]; and J-B 73 and 107 [year 168]. According to the methodology used above, that dates in the SE and PoTE cannot fall after the beginning of the ATE, all of these dates must be according the SE[61].

Kawkabani read year 159 on two stamped handles, and associated them with the PoTE, based upon the formula, *št …l ʿm ṣr*. He read the date on J-B 37 as follows: On the first line with the date (line 3): 20+20+100 שת (*št* 140), on the second line (line 4): 3+3+3+10 (19), and on the third line (line 5): *l ʿm ṣr*[62]. If this reading were reliable, it would translate, according to a 275 or 274 era for the PoTE, as 117/6 or 116/5 BCE. That date is eight years beyond the beginning of the ATE. Therefore, according to the methodology presented above, I checked the published photograph, and found that the image, not of particularly high quality, showed that the second numeral meaning 20 was uncertain. Without the second 20 numeral, the date on the impression would read 139 (120+19), and the 275- or 274-PoTE would be 137/6 or 136/5 BCE — well enough before the beginning of the ATE so as not to constitute a problem.

What of the second stamped handle Kawkabani read as 159 PoTE? It is J-B 93[63]. In this case, again following my methodology above, I checked the handle's details and there was a discrepancy between the transcription and the line drawing. The line drawing was missing a

59 Following the SE, Finkielsztejn dated the J-B 43 to 133/2 BCE (Finkielsztejn 2004, 251) but noted that the era was uncertain. Examination of the photo of J-B 43 places the date of 180 also in some doubt. The numerals in fact may be read as: 20+20+20/100 (the final 20 numeral read by Kawkabani is unclear). Methodologically, it is not necessary to suggest an emendation of the Kawkabani's reading, because no reading of *l ʿm ṣr* accompanies the 180 date, and, as an SE date, the year 180 is not an outlier. It may be added, however, that assuming a 133/2 BCE date on the handle also means that J-B 43 is the only stamped handle in the assemblage to postdate the Tyrian one-time announcement on coins of some level of autonomy before the advent of the ATE (Τύρου ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου; 172 SE [=141/0 BCE]; *SC* II/I, 301 no. 1961; 302 no. 1965).

60 The numeral reads 𐤇𐤑P and so is apparently equivalent to 165.

61 Finkielsztejn also dated J-B 44 (year 163) to the SE (Finkielsztejn 2004, 251).

62 Kawkabani 2005, 26.

63 Kawkabani 2005, 47.

line reading 10+20+20 in Phoenician numerals. These numerals are in fact visible in the (poor) photograph. However, in line 3, I found the 100-numeral was an uncertain reading. Without the 100-numeral the date on the impression would read 59, and the 275- or 274-PoTE would be 217/6 or 216/5 BCE, some 12 years before the earliest PoTE date noted above (J-B 69).

Undoubtedly, my methodology of doubting the outlier date is not ideal. In fact, having PoTE dates fall after the inauguration of the ATE did not disturb Kawkabani who, based upon his own readings, dated the end of the assemblage ten years (115 BCE) beyond Tyrian autonomy[64].

In antiquity, there are cases of ancient eras being cited despite the existence of eras that superseded them. For example, three parchments from Dura Europos, from 180, 238–244 and 251 CE, where, after the normally accepted dating system for that period of time, the SE (years 491 and 562 are legible) is cited as »κατὰ δε τὸν πρότερον ἀριθμὸν« or »[κ]ατὰ δε τὸν πρότερον ἀριθμ(ὸν) δευτέρου« (›[after] the former reckoning‹)[65]. The Dura Europos examples, however, are exceptional. The phrasing, ›the former reckoning‹, in fact, emphasizes that those composing the documents were aware of their use of SE dates as anomalous. It is more difficult to accept that the Tyrian officials cutting the seals to stamp the storage jars, and had witnessed, in 125 BCE, the city's proclamation of its own autonomy from outside imperial rule, would not have immediately embraced the new ATE, as they had with the Tyrian tetradrachms, which were issued from year one of the ATE.

Returning to J-B 37 and J-B 93, once the number 159 according to PoTE is removed from the assemblage, the next earlier PoTE date at Jal el-Bahr is 114[66]. In other words, the alternate latest dated stamp using the PoTE at Jal el-Bahr dates to 162/1 or 161/0 BCE, at least 45 years earlier than Kawkabani's date of 116/5 BCE for J-B 37 and 93.

My ›manipulations‹ of the readings of some of the Phoenician storage-jar stamps at Jal el-Bahr are predicated by the methodological difficulty just described. It must be remembered that the SE dates are never identified as such at Jal el-Bahr. The definite SE dates are (1) those that appear on stamped handles before other (smaller) dates, and (2) those whose dates would extend beyond 125, if they were to be associated with the PoTE. According to those criteria, the earliest SE date is 143, found on two handles, Nos. J-B 57 and J-B 68[67]. The two handles date to 170/69 BCE. The latest certain SE dated handle is No. 47[68], whose SE date is 152, or 161/0 BCE. The latest uncertain SE dated handles are J-B 73 and 107, dated 168 SE, equivalent to 145/4 BCE[69].

Therefore, once my minimalist approach is adopted vis-à-vis the period of stamping of the Tyrian storage-jar handles at Jal el-Bahr, the resulting dates extend from 205/4 (or 204/3)[70] to 133/2 BCE, a period of 73 years. The upper extreme of this range is based upon a PoTE dating. The lower extreme is based J-B 43, which reads year 180, and can only be a SE date, equivalent to 133/2 BCE. The only date for which an assignation to the SE did not change its status as an outlier, year 7 (J-B 45), was emended to date no earlier than 206/5 BCE. All the other dates, read by Kawkabani and for which no suspicion of his readings was necessary, fall well within the 205/4 (or 204/3) to 133/2 BCE range suggested here.

Now the four bilingual (noted above) stamped handles at Jal el-Bahr may be examined. These are also the stamps I referred to above as the minority of the stamps which Kawkabani

64 Kawkabani 2005, 68.

65 Welles et al. 1959, 127. 152. 177. The use of the by then essentially antiquated SE era on double-dated documents of the second and third centuries CE, is, in Kosmin's terms, »an overarching, umbrella referent« (Kosmin 2018, 100).

66 Kawkabani 2005, 30 J-B 47; Finkielsztejn 2004, 251.

67 Kawkabani 2005, 34 and 38 respectively.

68 Kawkabani 2005, 30; Finkielsztejn 2004, 251.

69 Kawkabani 2005, 39 and 38 respectively.

70 Or 217/6 BCE if J-B 93 is read as 59 PoTE.

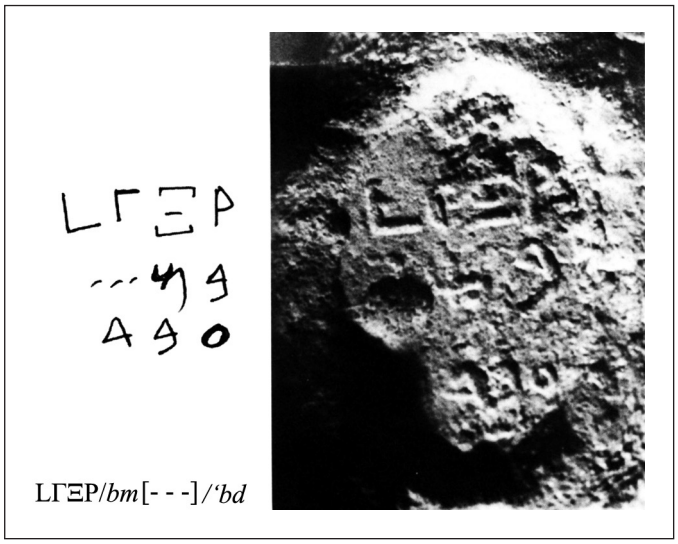


Fig. 7:
Stamp impression J-B 44 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 28).
Kawkabani's reading is
LΓΞP / *bm* [- - -] / *'bd*.
This is one of four bilingual (Phoenician text and date in Greek numerals) impressions at Jal el-Bahr. Its date, according to SE, is 150/49 BCE.

assigned to eras other than the SE and the PoTE. The stamps[71] bear Phoenician texts not very different from the rest of the assemblage, but the dates (163 [**fig. 7**], 168 [x2], and 165?[72] respectively) appear in Greek numerals and are preceded by the sign L. Incongruously, Kawkabani interpreted these impressions as dated by the Alexandrine era (August 30, 30 BCE)[73]. He bizarrely concluded that the handles dated between 133 and 138 CE (!). Indeed, the prefix L as a symbol indicating a date is traced to the Ptolemaic empire. However, this sign is a Ptolemaic legacy. Its use was continued under the Seleucids, in territories previously subject to the Ptolemies, including Phoenicia[74]. There is therefore no reason to view these twisted stamped handles on torpedo-shaped storage jars as dating more than two-and-a-half centuries later than the remainder of the assemblage. The four bilingual stamped storage-jar handles at Jal el-Bahr undoubtedly reference the SE[75]. They cluster within five years and date between 150/49 and 145/4 BCE, towards the end of the PoTE date range I identified[76].

Kawkabani's inexplicably late dating for the four bilingual stamped storage-jar handles even contradicts his own dating of the assemblage to 206–115 BCE[77]. The 2nd century CE dates for the four bilingual stamped handles at Jal el-Bahr may thus be rejected.

A preliminary result of this analysis of the Tyrian component of the Jal el-Bahr assemblage is that the new dating overlaps the date of the lifetime of the Kedesh archive, another exceptional example of Tyrian public administration. It seems clear that both the storage-jar assemblage and the Kedesh archive provide extensive evidence for a period of highly organized Tyrian municipal administration in the first half of the 2nd century BCE.

71 Kawkabani 2005, 28 J-B 44; 39 J-B 73; 51 J-B 107; 60 J-B 132.

72 See above, note 60.

73 Kawkabani 2005, 64.

74 Kushnir-Stein 2011, 52, but see Finkielsztejn 2014, 67 n. 12.

75 Associating them with the PoTE would place them after the beginning of the ATE. Finkielsztejn concurred for J-B 44 (see above, note 61).

76 Incidentally, the Jal el-Bahr bilingual stamps date roughly two decades after the earliest bilingual (Phoenician and Greek) coins appear in the region, under Antiochus IV, beginning in 168 BCE. Bilingualism may have been part of an administrative reform by that king at that time (see, most recently, Finkielsztejn 2019, 303–304). No other bilingual Tyrian *instrumenta*, for example, the double-dated lead scale weight (Finkielsztejn 2003, 478–480; Finkielsztejn 2015, 92 no. 147) and three sealings in the Kedesh archive (Ariel forthcoming, INS 002 and 007) antedate the 168 BCE date either.

77 Kawkabani 2005, 68.

Aegean stamped amphora handles

There is an independent way to examine the chronological framework for the Jal el-Bahr stamped Tyrian handle assemblage. At the site, some 183 handles stamped in Greek and deriving from likely Hellenistic Aegean transport amphora forms were excavated and published[78]. That assemblage was uncovered at the same time, and in the same context[79], as the storage-jar handle assemblage, the focus of our review. Owing to the preponderance of finds of Rhodian transport amphoras in the eastern Mediterranean littoral, most (84 %) of the imported stamped handles from the site are, as would be expected, of that class[80].

Because Kawkabani had very limited access to Hellenistic stamped amphora treatises he did not in fact try to date the material. From Kawkabani's list of references possibly only one employed Grace's lowered chronology[81], and none of the bibliography of which he used was aware of Finkielsztejn's more recent 2001 revised chronology, which is lower still. From the Hellenistic amphora reports available to him, Kawkabani concluded that in general the dating of the Greek stamped amphora assemblage at Jal el-Bahr fell within the same chronological range as the stamped Phoenician handle assemblage[82]. I will now summarize the dates of the best dated Rhodian amphora stamps from Jal el-Bahr, basing myself on the more refined advanced datings of the 48 roughly datable Rhodian eponym stamps (from a total of 154 Rhodian stamps[83]), according to Finkielsztejn's 2001 chronological framework.

The assemblage's eponym range begins in 202 BCE with Θεύδωρος[84]. As for the latest date of the eponyms in the assemblage, some of Kawkabani's readings of the eponym stamps would seem to provide late dates, e.g., in Period VI (107–88/6 BCE), or Period VI or VIIa (107 to after 88/6 BCE). Using the same approach that I used for the outliers of the Tyrian material, I examined J-B 273, which Kawkabani read as Σωκράτης[85], and J-B 340, read by Kawkabani as the eponym Ἀπολλώνιος[86]. Kawkabani's reading of Σωκράτης should probably be emended to Ἱπποκράτης. Rather than the Period VI date for the eponym Σωκράτης[87], the stamped handle would thus identify a fabricant dated between 189–145 BCE. As for Ἀπολλώνιος, the poor photograph was insufficient to establish or reject Kawkabani's reading of the eponym's name[88]. What can be said is that 7 letters are visible from the photograph, while 20 appear in Kawkabani's reading. If Kawkabani read the inscription correctly, the stamped handle would date to Period VI or VIIa (107 to after 88/6 BCE)[89], and in that case J-B 340 would be a true outlier, as the dates of the remainder of the stamped Rhodian eponyms fall between 202 BCE

78 Kawkabani 2008, nos. J-B 167–350. One (p. 40, J-B 306) is not a stamped but an incised handle.

79 Kawkabani 2008, 2.

80 By my calculation: 84 stamps naming eponyms, 62 naming fabricants (no dating attempted) and 8 definitely Rhodian (but illegible) stamps. Other stamps were Knidian (4), Thasian (3), Chian (1) and Parian (1). Kawkabani (Kawkabani 2008, 55) only noted Thasian and Cypriote. None of the dates of the non-Rhodian classes noted here need affect the chronological conclusions reached from the Rhodian stamps.

81 Grace 1974. If Kawkabani's citation to a volume of mine under the publication date 2002 is actually my 1990 book, then Grace's 1974 revision would have been known to him.

82 Kawkabani 2005, 55; Kawkabani 2008, 56.

83 By my calculation: 84 stamps naming eponyms, 62 naming fabricants (no dating attempted) and 8 definitely Rhodian (but illegible) stamps. Other stamps were Knidian (4), Thasian (3), Chian (1) and Parian (1).

84 Kawkabani 2008, 22 J-B 235; 30 J-B 260; all dates are *circa*.

85 Kawkabani 2008, 32.

86 Kawkabani 2008, 51. I am grateful to Gérald Finkielsztejn for his assistance in examining the photographs of the Greek amphora stamps in Kawkabani's 2008 article.

87 Finkielsztejn 2001, 161 Table 13.

88 Kawkabani 2008, 51 J-B 340.

89 Finkielsztejn 2001, 162 Table 14.

(Θεύδωρος, above) and the other eponyms that are much earlier than Period VI or VIIa noted above.

Moreover, the shape of the rose within the circular stamp of J-B 340, looks unlike roses of Periods VI and VIIa, and appears to be earlier in date[90], and raises the possibility that this is a stamp of a fabricant named Ἀπολλώνιος, active in the beginning of the 2nd century BCE[91]. It should be added that no circular stamps naming the eponym Ἀπολλώνιος, or the month Σμίνθιος, is found in Cankardeş-Şenol's Lexicon[92].

Consequently, following my approach, the latest Rhodian eponyms in the Jal el-Bahr assemblage are:

- Ἀστυμήδης (144 BCE)[93]
- Ἀριστόγειτος (141/0 BCE)[94]
- Ἀναξίβουλος (140/39 BCE)[95]
- Ἀλεξίαδας (138 BCE)[96]
- Καλλικράτης 3rd (130 BCE)[97]

In my examination of the outliers among the Rhodian eponym stamps, there could be the same sort of confirmation bias here as in my discussion above on the Phoenician stamps. Nonetheless, the poor quality of Kawkabani's 2008 report — and the inaccessibility of the finds — together with the importance of the material, forces me to use a large measure of whatever common-sense tools there are at my disposal.

This examination of the dates of the Rhodian eponyms at Jal el-Bahr results in the tentative conclusion that the Aegean transport amphora assemblage dates between 202 BCE (Θεύδωρος, above) and 130 BCE (Καλλικράτης 3rd), with the readings of both J-B 273 (Σωκράτης) and J-B 340 (Ἀπολλώνιος) being emended. So, the answer to the question posed above, how does my dating of the Jal el-Bahr Phoenician storage-jar stamps after certain ›manipulations‹ of their outliers compare with the two emended Rhodian stamped transport amphora handles naming purported eponyms, is the following.

In general, there is a very good overlap between my dating of the Tyrian impressed storage-jar handles (205/4 [204/3]–137/6 BCE) and the dates of most of the Rhodian eponyms (202–130 BCE).

There are outliers or possible outliers that seem to date later than the ATE (125 BCE). For the Tyrian impressed torpedo amphora handles, the two possible outliers would date to 117/6 BCE, while the two possible Rhodian eponym outliers would date after 107 BCE. For one, J-B 273, Kawkabani's reading was certainly in error. For the other, J-B 340, which could not be read by me from the photograph, the reason that I do not prefer Kawkabani's reading is that the other Rhodian eponyms all now date before 130 BCE. An alternative to rejecting Kawkabani's reading of J-B 340 would be to suppose the stamp was inadvertently added to the report on the Aegean assemblage and derived from elsewhere on the Jal el-Bahr site.

90 Gérald Finkielsztejn, pers. comm.

91 Cf. Jöhrens 1999, 66 no. 170.

92 Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 272–273.

93 Kawkabani 2008, 47 J-B 327 (my reconstruction of the name).

94 Kawkabani 2008, 29 J-B 256.

95 Kawkabani 2008, 30 J-B 262.

96 Kawkabani 2008, 18 J-B 214.

97 Kawkabani 2008, 13 J-B 198.

Fig. 8:
Stamp impression J-B 53 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 32).
Kawkabani's reading is *mtnb 'l* / *št* 100+20+20 / 3+3+3 / Rhodian rose.
Its date, according to SE, is 164/3 BCE.

Symbols on the Stamped Storage-Jar Handles

Above, in addition to the characteristics of the texts inscribed on the stamped handles, such as what seem to be personal names, and of course a date, small symbols are occasionally depicted.

Eight iconographic devices were found on the stamps at Jal el-Bahr. They are (in descending order in number of iterations):

1. Flower (or floral device); 14 stamps[98]. The well-read dates on the stamps cluster between 142 and 156[99]. Because only half of these would fall before the ATE, if their era is the PoTE, then it is likely that all of them are SE dates. Hence the absolute dates of these floral devices are likely to be 171/0–157/6 BCE. Some of these flowers are called Rhodian roses (e.g., **fig. 8**) and others are called trilobate grape clusters.
2. Olive branch; four stamps[100]. Three deciphered dates, probably between 171/0 and 153/2 BCE.
3. Grape cluster; three stamps[101]. The grape cluster device appears on only one stamp with a deciphered date: year 163, which must be equivalent to 150/49 BCE.
4. Ear of wheat; three stamps[102]. Date (from two deciphered dates), one equivalent to 170/69 (SE) or 133/2 or 132/1 (PoTE) and the other 160/59 BCE (SE).
5. Caduceus; two stamps[103]. Dates between 205/4 or 204/3 BCE and 161/0 BCE. Caducei in Tyrian and Phoenician contexts are fully discussed in the Kedesh report, owing to the

98 Kawkabani 2005, 23 J-B 32; 32 J-B 53; 33 J-B 56; 35 J-B 61; 36 J-B 63; 40–41 J-B 76; 42 J-B 80; 44 J-B 84; 44 J-B 86; 48 J-B 96; 53 J-B 112; 54 J-B 116; 55 J-B 120; 57 J-B 125.

99 The year 149 read stamp is associated by Finkielsztejn to the SE (Finkielsztejn 2004, 251).

100 Kawkabani 2005, 27–28 J-B 41; 11 J-B 4; 13 J-B 8; 42 J-B 79 (this last one was erroneously described by Kawkabani as a floral device).

101 Kawkabani 2005, 28–29 J-B 44; 57 J-B 123; 59 J-B 130 (J-B 44 was described by Kawkabani as either a grape cluster or an acorn).

102 Kawkabani 2005, 59 J-B 129; 45 J-B 87; 56 J-B 122.

103 Kawkabani 2005, 30 J-B 47; 38 J-B 69.

presence of a caduceus as the main symbol on an administrative bilingual, double-dated seal (two specimens) in the archive[104].

6. Lion; one stamp[105]. This device shares a date with the ›unclear horizontal device‹ (No. 8 below), and the two sealings were laid out similarly (and both are double-dated), but they were not impressed with the same seal. Date: 170/69 BCE.
7. Tanit symbol; one stamp[106].
8. Unclear horizontal device; one stamp[107]. Elayi had already noted the absence of club devices at Jal el-Bahr[108]. It is nevertheless possible that the ›unclear horizontal device‹ may be a club[109]. As both (double-dated) sealings were similarly arranged, the device, if a club, would easily be related to the lion symbol through the first of the twelve labors of Heracles, killing the Nemean lion. Date: 170/69 BCE

Another Heraclean connection is found in another sole appearance of a small depiction of a bird on another type of *instrumentum publicum* from Tyre, a sealing[110]. Bordreuil interpreted the bird on the sealing as a symbol of Heracles-Melqart[111]. I know of no other definitive support for Bordreuil's interpretation in the written or archaeological record.

Clubs are mintmarks for Tyre throughout the Hellenistic period and later, and are found over a dozen times on Tyrian scale weights[112]. The club is the only device appearing on the seal impressions on jar handles from 'Akko, found on three or four of the five handles from there[113]. It also appears on a stamped handle from Sarepta[114]. Therefore, one cannot rely on the uncertainty that any club was depicted at Jal el-Bahr as a compelling argument against its role as a Tyrian *parasemon*.

All told, there are 27 devices depicted on the stamped storage-jar handles at Jal el-Bahr. Although less than 20 % of the legible stamps. Sader described them as »a characteristic feature« of the Jal el-Bahr storage-jar assemblage[115].

The devices are likely to have functioned as identifiers of the gem engravers or producers of the storage jars. Many of the iconographic additions appear on stamped handles with preserved dates. The only chronological clustering of any device is found for the most numerous device, the 14 stamps with a flower (or floral device), with dates restricted to 15 years (171/0–157/6 BCE). Could some of these devices have been marks to identify the engraver? As noted above, Kawkabani first suggested that the personal names on the stamps of the Phoenician assemblage be identified as fabricants, along the lines of the Greek amphoras. Above, I did discuss the possibility that *mnḥm* and *gry* were personal names. The eight small iconographic devices represented at Jal el-Bahr may be similar to the usage of fabricants'

104 Ariel forthcoming, INS 002.

105 Kawkabani 2005, 38 J-B 68.

106 Kawkabani 2005, 61 J-B 140.

107 Kawkabani 2005, 34 no. 57.

108 Elayi 2004, 194.

109 Kawkabani 2005, 34 J-B 57.

110 Bordreuil 1996, 53–54 no. IIa.

111 Bordreuil's interpretation of the bird as a symbol of Heracles-Melqart may derive from the reverses of the autonomous Tyrian tetradrachms/sheqels. However, those birds (eagles) are more likely to be inspired by the eagles on Ptolemaic (and some earlier Seleucid) tetradrachms, and, to my knowledge, should not be considered an attribute of Melqart.

112 Finkielsztejn 2015, passim.

113 Naveh 1997, 115 nos. 2–3. 5, and probably 4.

114 Elayi 2003, 17–18.

115 Sader 2007, 60.

›devices‹ alongside inscriptions produced by them on stamps for Aegean amphoras and as ›control marks‹ on contemporary coins in the East? If this is the case, then the images depicted may not have been a symbol of municipal or regional iconographical significance, but rather simply an identifying mark for the person (or seal-producing enterprise) who produced the seal. In the light of the Jal el-Bahr Tyrian storage-jar handle assemblage, such a conclusion is possible if not likely. There is enough similarity between the stamps on the Tyrian storage-jar handles and the Aegean amphora handles to suggest that Tyre adopted elements of the long-established stamping traditions of Aegean transport amphoras[116].

In sum, whether the devices identified the producer of a seal for stamping storage-jar handles or the producer of the storage jars themselves, or not, the symbols themselves suggest that they had little symbolic significance vis-à-vis the city of Tyre that supervised the stamping of the storage jars.

The Absolute Date of PoTE

In both the double-dated inscription from Umm el-Ämed, and the synchronism between Ptolemy II's twenty-sixth year and the PoTE on the Maṣṣuba inscription, the PoTE is separated by 37 years from the SE. This is also true of the double-dated seal from the Kedesh archive[117]. Assuming a Macedonian (autumnal) calendar, the era for the People of Tyre began in 275 BCE[118]. However, the double-dated finds from Jal al-Bahr seem to uniformly produce a 38-year gap between the SE and the PoTE[119]. With two gaps between the SE and the PoTE, one can no longer rely on 275 BCE as the common notation of autumn 275 through autumn 274 date for the first year of PoTE[120].

Kawkabani discussed the synchronism of the SE with the PoTE[121]. He noted that the consensual date of the PoTE was 275/4 BCE, and that another view, based upon the Maṣṣuba inscription, resulted in a date for the PoTE as 274/3 BCE.

One way to reconcile the different 275/4 BCE and 274/3 BCE era determinations for PoTE is to assume a different, Babylonian (vernal) calendar for PoTE. Then, during the first half of PoTE, there would be a difference of 38 years, and during the second half of PoTE, the difference would be 37 years. This, however, would not explain what appears to be a regular use of a 38-year gap in the Jal el-Bahr material as opposed to what appears to be regular use of a 37-year gap elsewhere[122]. It therefore seems likely that there was confusion between the numbers of years separating the two eras, resulting in use of both 37- and 38-year gaps. This may have been exacerbated by a separate autumn calendar for SE and a separate spring calendar for PoTE[123]. Today, when the date of the PoTE era is not known exactly, and I cannot definitively reconcile the problem, I can nevertheless encourage the abandonment of the common notation of 275 BCE as the date of the People of Tyre era, adopted by Naveh and

116 See Finkielsztejn 1998, 84; Ariel – Shoham 2000, 139.

117 Ariel forthcoming, two sealings, INS 002A–B.

118 For bibliography on the PoTE, see Elayi 2004, 194 n. 30.

119 According to both Kawkabani (Kawkabani 2005, 62–64) and myself, six stamps are double-dated. However, only three stamps in his (J-B 57, J-B 63, J-B 69, J-B 70, J-B 74 and J-B 84) and my (J-B 47, J-B 57, J-B 63, J-B 68, J-B 73 and J-B 84) lists overlap.

120 A similar difficulty to my inability to determine the date of the PoTE is found in the first publication of a double-dated lead scale weight by Finkielsztejn (Finkielsztejn 2003, 479). Finkielsztejn was uncertain whether to read year as PoTE 106 or 107 on a Tyrian scale weight with a SE date of 145. In 2003 he dated the weight to 170/169 or 169/168 BCE. In 2015 (p. 92 no. 147), he dated the weight to 169 BCE.

121 Kawkabani 2005, 82–84.

122 An era is a fixed day in one year, as Kawkabani noted regarding the Alexandrine era (below), and not as he elsewhere referred to the PoTE, as 274/3 BCE (Kawkabani 2005, 62).

123 Such issues may even be a possible explanation for what appears to be the addition of a digit on sealing INS 002B from the Kedesh archive (Ariel forthcoming).

myself in 2003, and by Finkielsztejn[124]. One should desist from referring to the PoTE as »vers 275«[125], or other formulas (Kawkabani cited 274 BCE in one place[126] and »environs de 274/3« in another[127]). The PoTE can only be fixed as either 275 or 274 BCE.

The Jal el-Bahr Storage Jars and Tyrian Public Administration in the Middle of the Hellenistic Period (c. 275/4–126 BCE)

The era »of the people of Tyre« (PoTE) has a political underpinning about which only the barest of details are known[128]. Not a regnal era, it was certainly influenced by the preeminent SE which was instituted only 38 or 37 years earlier. The PoTE may in fact have been the first era to imitate — or try to compete with? — the SE. Thereafter, similar eras were inaugurated for neighboring Aradus (259 BCE) and Sidon (sometime in the first half of the 3rd century BCE). The establishment of an era within the period of Ptolemy II's tutelage over the region itself suggest a *laissez faire* approach by the Ptolemies, on some level, regarding Tyre's local matters. Recently, Kosmin argued that a connection may be found between the creation of local eras, including those of these Phoenician cities, and resistance to the establishment of imperial control over broad, multi-ethnic territories that had never been conjoined before[129]. One cannot envision how the institution of the PoTE would have been received by the Ptolemies, who did not institute any dynastic era such as the innovative Seleucid era. The evidence of the PoTE dates on the various surviving *instrumenta publica* seems to suggest that the PoTE was used intermittently and, incidentally, never on coins. If the discovery of the stamped storage-jar handles at Jal el-Bahr changes our perception to imply an increase in the popularity of its use in Tyrian administration only in the second century, under the Seleucids, that would be unsound. Kawkabani read eight different year numbers which he dated according to the PoTE, and restored a ninth PoTE number[130]. The earliest four have their dates spelled out in Phoenician words (e.g., **fig. 9**)[131]. Thereafter, the PoTE years appear in numerals. The first two of these textual dates fall during Ptolemaic hegemony, 205/4 or 204/3 BCE (71 PoTE)[132] and 203/2 or 202/1 BCE (73 PoTE)[133], while the next two are already under Seleucid rule, 201/200 or 200/199 BCE (75 PoTE)[134] and 198/7 or 197/6 BCE (78 PoTE)[135]. The change in regimes does not seem to have affected the institution of stamping. The employment of the PoTE persisted until 114 PoTE (161/0 BCE according to its synchronic 152 SE date[136]) and it is likely that it continued

124 Finkielsztejn 1998, 114; Finkielsztejn 2003, 479; Finkielsztejn 2015, 85.

125 Elayi 2003, 21.

126 Kawkabani 2005, 64.

127 Kawkabani 2005, 71.

128 See above, note 17.

129 Kosmin 2018, 97–98.

130 Kawkabani 2005, 47–48 J-B 98. I am discounting the two stamps that Kawkabani read as 159, as those dates are now uncertain.

131 Kawkabani 2005, 62 (from the unusual way these dates were presented in Kawkabani 2003, Finkielsztejn listed two erroneous dates (Finkielsztejin 2004, 251 Table I). Interestingly, the earliest *instrumentum publicum* known to use the PoTE also has the number of the year also spelled out. The year was PoTE year four and the object was a sealing (Bordreuil 1995, 190–191; Bordreuil 1996, 48–49). Elayi noticed that not all year numbers under 100 were spelling out, and concluded that one cannot generalize the spelling out of year numbers as a rule (Elayi 2004, 194). Nevertheless, it is reasonable that as the year number grew, there would have been a tendency to use numerals instead of words for the number.

132 Kawkabani 2005, 38 J-B 69.

133 Kawkabani 2005, 40 J-B 74.

134 Kawkabani 2005, 17 J-B 18.

135 Kawkabani 2005, 35 J-B 60; 38 J-B 70.

136 Kawkabani 2005, 30 J-B 47.

Fig. 9:
Stamp impression J-B 18 and Kawkabani's drawing of its inscription (from Kawkabani 2005, 17).
Kawkabani's reading is *ḥ / mš wšb ʿm / št lʿm ṣr / ṣrt b ʿlmlk*.
The date is rendered in words (›five and seventy‹).

for the full century-and-a-half until the institution of the ATE. Kosmin's broad perspective, whereby local eras imply opposition to Seleucid imperial control and particularly its era[137], cannot be identified in the frequency of PoTE dates found in the archaeological record.

The Seeming Exceptionality of the Jal el-Bahr Storage-Jar Assemblage

Should the stamping practices on the Jal el-Bahr storage jars be considered exceptional? Why, for example, have no stamping traditions been found on storage jars of Sidon? In my view, it is entirely possible that an assemblage of stamped storage jars will yet be found in Sidon, as other objects reflecting institutions of independent Phoenician administrations have appeared over the decades. Sidonian *instrumenta publica* are known. A mold for producing lead scale weights was uncovered in Sidon[138]. In the Kedesh archive a sealing impressed with an official seal of Sidon was identified[139], and a second inscribed sealing may also reference Sidon[140].

The Jal el-Bahr storage-jar assemblage was a fortuitous find. Very few Tyrian storage-jar stamped handles of this general type were found before the discovery; they were individually reported and later summarized by Finkielsztejn (×4)[141], and Elayi (×8)[142]. Another example of a similar fortuitous find is the Dor group of storage-jar stamps. The first 19 were found in excavations at that city in 1980–1981[143]. Since then, an additional two Dor group stamped handles were found at Har Ḥourshan[144]. There is evidence for other Phoenician cities adopting the practice of placing stamps on storage jars. Besides Tyre, the city with the most numerous apparently locally produced stamped handles is Berytus (×7)[145], and there may be a connection between the extensive excavations there and the discovery and subsequent ascription of a new group of stamped handles to that city.

137 Kosmin 2018, 97–98.

138 Finkielsztejn 2015, 83–84.

139 Ariel – Naveh 2003, 75–77; Ariel forthcoming, INS 007.

140 Ariel forthcoming, INS 004. One of the inscriptions in the Jal el-Bahr assemblage may reference Sidon. It was read by Kawkabani (Kawkabani 2005, 23 J-B 31) as *bʿl ṣdny*, but it might also be *bʿl ṣdn y*, the Baal of Sidon and the letter yod. This, however, is not an official seal of Sidon, but of Tyre.

141 Finkielsztejn 1998, 107–109.

142 Finkielsztejn 2003, 28–29 Groups I–III; 30 Group VI.

143 For a complete stamped storage jar, of a bag-shaped type, see Ariel et al. 1985, 136. Elayi suggested that the torpedo-shaped jars described by Kawkabani were also bag-shaped (Elayi 2004, 193).

144 Finkielsztejn 1998, 89.

145 Finkielsztejn 1998, 91–95.

Beyond the careful collection of known stamped Hellenistic jar handles made by Finkielsztejn and Elayi, more isolated finds of stamped handles apparently from locally produced jars continue to be identified. In 2005, in analyzing an unclassified stamped handle from excavations at 'Akko, whose stamp had what were thought to be »Semitic characters«, I added much additional unpublished material not in Finkielsztejn's and Elayi's surveys, including items from Lebanon and Israel[146]. Although it was difficult to come to conclusions for the production sources of most of the items, it is clear that traditions of stamping storage-jar handles have had a long history in the Southern Levant. With the influx of many classes of transport amphoras with stamps on their handles from the west in the 3rd cent. BCE, it was natural for the practice to regain its former popularity, or to be adopted de novo.

Conclusion

Towards the end of Kawkabani's third article, the author summarized the contribution of the Aegean amphora handles, including an unclassified subgroup of five stamped handles[147], and came to the essentially unfounded conclusion that they lower the dating of the Phoenician inscribed material, down to the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE[148]. It seems the L symbol itself and other details on above-mentioned bilingual stamped handles (he noted a retrograde letter, apparently referring to the epsilon on J-B 132[149]) led him to that position. In the discussion that immediately followed, on the temple, this post-2nd-century dated brought Kawkabani to further state that not only were the objects later than the second century, but the temple as well functioned until the end of the Hellenistic period[150]. The four bilingual stamped handles are, in fact, consistent with the dates of the SE and PoTE eras, and there is no evidence that they belong anywhere but in the 2nd century.

Whether or not my refinement of the dating of the Jal el-Bahr Hellenistic assemblage (205/4 [204/3]–133/2 BCE) is accepted, it seems reasonable to propose that the site was no longer in use after the murder of Demetrius II in 125 BCE, and, after the declaration of autonomy from Seleucid suzerainty in the following year.

The Jal el-Bahr Tyrian storage-jar assemblage serves to highlight the city's administrative prowess, even though relatively large numbers of *instrumenta publica* were known beforehand. One need only look to regions adjacent to Phoenicia, for example Syria in the north and the region to the south and east, then called Judah, from the end of the 3rd century BCE through the first two thirds of the 2nd century BCE, to understand how highly developed, relative to those regions, Tyrian administrative institutions were. Tyre's »special position in the Hellenistic Levant«[151] is particularly seen in the dominance of its mint over all other Phoenician mints in the Hellenistic period, by large numbers of extant scale weights from the city (though not as many as from Aradus and Marathus), and by more official sealings from that city (without even counting the material from the Kedesh archive).

The relative quantities of the Jal el-Bahr Phoenician-inscribed stamps may also make a contribution. If one can assume that the fluctuations in the dates on the handles are not the result of the failure of the crops or produce that would have been contained in the Tyrian storage jars, or fluctuations based upon other 'natural' causes, then the frequencies of the dates on the stamps may reflect the ebb and flow of Tyrian administrative institutions. Of the roughly 110 well-dated handles, I find that they peak between 190/89 and 170/69 BCE. The mean year

146 Ariel 2005, 185–187. A more recent find of a locally-stamped jar handle comes from Tel Hebron (Ariel in preparation).

147 Kawkabani 2008, 55.

148 Kawkabani 2008, 56.

149 See above, note 60.

150 Kawkabani 2008, 56.

151 Finkielsztejn 2015, 85.

was 175/4 BCE (138 SE), and the year with the most handles represented is 170/69 BCE (143 SE) with 11 handles. These dates harmonize with the dated sealings in the Kedesh archive and suggest that there was growth of Tyrian administrative institutions during the middle of the first half of the 2nd century BCE, roughly contemporary with the reign of Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE).

Another confluence may be drawn between the dates of the four bilingual Tyrian stamped handles at Jal el-Bahr and the Greek-inscribed stamped handles from what may also be called southern Phoenicia. The 21 handles stamped at Dor to the south and noted above are all in Greek and all (consensually) date to the Seleucid usurper Tryphon's second regnal year, 141/0 BCE[152]. Three other individual stamped handles in Greek and dated by the SE, with no suggested place of stamping were found: one at Jaffa[153], one at Tell Shiqmona[154] and one at Khirbat Sharati[155]. The range of dates of the Tyrian bilingual stamps falls between 150/49 and 145/4 BCE. This may suggest that Greek was more common on *instrumenta publica* in the years just before the first (major?) Phoenician autonomy, of Tyre in 125 BCE.

I have noted that the practice of stamping storage-jar handles at Jal el-Bahr was unaffected by the transfer of Tyre from Ptolemaic to Seleucid hegemony at the end of the 3rd century BCE. It also does not seem to have been affected by the city's receipt of the status of ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου (›holy and inviolate‹), which appeared on Tyrian coins beginning in 141 BCE. The latest dated stamped handle from Jal el-Bahr seems to be J-B 43 (133/2 BCE), roughly eight years after that city's milestone. Therefore, the end of Jal el-Bahr, somehow, appears to be related to the events leading up to Demetrius' last stand at Tyre or the aftermath of his death, which coincided with the ›outbreak‹ of autonomy in 125 BCE. This analysis of the Jal el-Bahr storage-jar assemblage raises the possibility, if not likelihood, that the year of Tyre's autonomy, 125 BCE, was as much a year of disruption as it was a year of new beginnings.

Bibliography

Ariel 1990	D. T. Ariel, Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh 2. Imported Stamped Handles, Coins, Worked Bone and Ivory, and Glass, Qedem 30 (Jerusalem 1990)
Ariel forthcoming	D. T. Ariel, Selected Inscribed Sealings, in S. Herbert – D. T. Ariel, Excavations at Tell Kedesh 1. The Archive
Ariel et al. 1985	D. T. Ariel – I. Sharon – J. Gunneweg – I. Perlman, A Group of Stamped Hellenistic Storage Jar Handles from Dor, IEJ 35, 1985, 135–152
Ariel – Naveh 2003	D. T. Ariel – J. Naveh, Selected Inscribed Sealings from Kedesh in the Upper Galilee. BASOR 329, 2003, 61–80
Ariel – Shoham 2000	D. T. Ariel – Y. Shoham, The Locally Stamped Handles and Related Body Sherds, in: D. T. Ariel (ed.), Excavations in the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh 6. Inscriptions, Qedem 41 (Jerusalem 2000) 137–171

152 Ariel et al. 1985, 141–142; Kosmin 2018, 93.

153 Finkielsztejn 1998, 87 A1, 133/2 BCE.

154 Finkielsztejn 1998, 88 A2, 130/29 BCE.

155 Finkielsztejn 1998, 89 A3, 128/7 BCE.

Atrash et al. 2018	W. Atrash – G. Mazor – H. Aboud, A Phoenician / Hellenistic Sanctuary at Horbat Turit (Kh. et-Tantur), JHP 3, 2018, 61–87
Bajjaly 2012	J. Bajjaly, The First Phoenician Temple of Tyre, Al-Akhbar (English website), http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/14232; accessed March 17, 2017
Bordreuil 1995	P. Bordreuil, Nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes de la côté de Phénicie, in: M. H. Fantar – M. Ghaki (eds.), Actes du IIIe congrès international des études phéniciennes et puniques. Tunis, 11–16 novembre 1991 (Tunis 1995) 187–192
Bordreuil 1996	P. Bordreuil, Bulles et poids de Tyr, in: E. Acquaro (ed.), Alle soglie della classicità. Il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati. Volume primo. Storia e culture (Pisa 1996) 47–58
Bossone 2013	A. Bossone, A Phoenician Temple Buried in the Archives, https://www.natureasia.com/en/nmiddleeast/article/10.1038/nmiddleeast.2013.170; accessed June 16, 2019
Cankardeş-Şenol 2016	G. Cankardeş-Şenol, Lexicon of Eponym Dies on Rhodian Amphora Stamps 1. Eponyms A, Études Alexandrines 37, AmphorAlex 3 (Alexandria 2016)
Dunand – Duru 1962	M. Dunand – R. Duru, Oumm el-'Amed: une ville de l'époque héllenistique aux échelles de Tyr (Paris 1962)
Elayi 2003	J. Elayi, Un nouveau timbre de jarre de Sarepta et la question du timbrage en phénicien au Proche-Orient, Transeuphratène 26, 2003, 9–31
Elayi 2004	J. Elayi, Remarques sur trois articles récents: jarres de Bey 010, timbres de jarres tyriens et traditions céramologiques de la haute vallée du Nahr Ibrahim 7, Transeuphratène 27, 2004, 189–200
Finkielsztejn 1998	G. Finkielsztejn, Timbres amphoriques du Levant d'époque hellénistique, Transeuphratène 15, 1998, 83–121
Finkielsztejn 2001	G. Finkielsztejn, Chronologie détailée et révisée des éponymes amphoriques rhodiens de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ. Premier bilan, BARIntSer 990 (Oxford 2001)
Finkielsztejn 2003	G. Finkielsztejn, Administration du Levant sud sous les Séleucides: remarques préliminaires, in: M. Sartre (ed.), La Syrie hellénistique, Topoi orient-occident, Suppl. 4 (Lyon 2003) 465–484
Finkielsztejn 2004	G. Finkielsztejn, L'économie et le roi au Levant Sud d'après les sources archéologiques et textuelles, in: V. Chankowski – F. Duyrat (eds.), Le roi et l'économie. Autonomies locales et structures royales dans l'économie de l'empire séleucide, Topoi orient-occident, Suppl. 6 (Paris 2004) 241–265
Finkielsztejn 2014	G. Finkielsztejn, The Weight Standards of the Hellenistic Levant. Part One — The Evidence of the Syrian Scale Weights, IsrNumR 9, 2014, 61–94
Finkielsztejn 2015	G. Finkielsztejn, The Weight Standards of the Hellenistic Levant. Part Two: The Evidence of the Phoenician Scale Weights, IsrNumR 10, 2015, 55–103
Finkielsztejn 2019	G. Finkielsztejn, The City Organization in the Seleucid Southern Levant: Some Archeological Evidence and Prospects, in: R. Oetjen – F. X. Ryan (eds.), New Perspectives in Seleucid History, Archaeology and Numismatics. Studies in Honor of Getzel M. Cohen, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 355 (Oldenbourg 2019) 296–310
Grace 1974	V. R. Grace, Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology, AM 89, 1974, 193–200
Herbert 2013	S. C. Herbert, The Hellenistic Archives from Tel Kedesh (Israel) and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (Iraq), Bulletin of the University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology 15, 65–86
Herbert – Ariel forthcoming	S. C. Herbert – D. T. Ariel, Excavations at Tell Kedesh 1. The Archive

Herbert – Berlin 2003	S. C. Herbert – A. M. Berlin, A New Administrative Center for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee. Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh, BASOR 329, 13–59
Jöhrens 1999	G. Jöhrens, Amphorenstempel im Nationalmuseum von Athen: zu den von H. G. Lolling aufgenommenen »uneditierten Henkelinschriften«; mit einem Anhang: Die Amphorenstempel in der Sammlung der Abteilung Athen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Mainz 1999)
Jones 1937	A. H. M. Jones, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (Oxford 1937)
Kawkabani 2003	I. Kawkabani, Les anses timbres de Jal el-Bahr, AHL 17, 2003, 95–99
Kawkabani 2005	I. Kawkabani (Kaokabani), Les estampilles phéniciennes de Tyr, AHL 21, 2005, 3–79
Kawkabani 2008	I. Kawkabani, Les anses timbrées en grec de Jal el-Bahr (Tyr), AHL 28, 2008, 2–65
Kosmin 2018	P. J. Kosmin, Time and Its Adversaries in the Seleucid Empire (Cambridge, MA 2018)
Kushnir-Stein 2011	A. Kushnir-Stein, Inscribed Hellenistic Weights of Palestine, IsrNumR 6, 2011, 35–59
Maria Luca – Chehayed 2013	A. Maria Luca – Y. Chehayed, A Long History of Instability, in: Tyre, Tourism Suffers Because of a Lack of Security. Now. https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/features/a-long-history-of-instability1; accessed March 17, 2017
Mazor – Atrash 2018	G. Mazor – W. Atrash, The Sealings, in: G. Mazor – W. Atrash – G. Finkielsztejn, Hellenistic Nysa-Scythopolis. The Amphora Stamps and Sealings from Tel Iẓṭabba, IAAReports 62 (Jerusalem 2018), 127–172
Naveh 1997	J. Naveh, Excavations of the Courthouse at ʻAkko: Phoenician Seal Impressions, Atiqot 31, 1997, 115–119
Preka-Alexandri 1989	K. Preka-Alexandri, Seal Impressions from Titani, a Hellenistic Metropolis of Thesprotia, in: T. Hackens – G. Moucharte (eds.), Technology and Analysis of Ancient Gemstones, Proceedings of the European Workshop held at Ravello, European University Centre for Cultural Heritage, 13–16.11.1987, PACT 23. (Strasbourg 1989) 163–172
Sader 2006	H. Sader, Phoenician Stamp Impressions from Beirut, BaM 37, 2006, 565–570
Sader 2007	H. Sader, New Phoenician Seal Impressions from Beirut, Orientalia (N. S.) 76, 2007, 57–63
Welles et al. 1959	C. B. Welles – R. O. Fink – F. J. Gilliam (eds.), Dura Europos Final Reports 5/1: Parchments and Papyri: Civil Texts (New Haven, CT 1959)

Pyla-*Koutsopetria* Archaeological Project: Excavations at Pyla-Vigla in 2019

Justin Stephens, Brandon R. Olson, Thomas Landvatter & R. Scott Moore

The site of Vigla, excavated under the auspices of the Pyla-*Koutsopetria* Archaeological Project (PKAP), is a fortified settlement located east of modern Larnaca on the island of Cyprus (**fig. 1**). Primarily dating to the early Hellenistic period, Vigla offers the possibility of illuminating the island's role in the early Hellenistic period, when Cyprus came under the control of Alexander the Great and a selection of his successors. Scholarly focus on the early Hellenistic period on Cyprus has been limited compared to previous eras, in particular the Bronze Age and Classical period, when Cyprus and its city-kingdoms were largely able to exercise a certain level of independence. The significance of Vigla lies in its ability to shed light on the very difficult logistical and chronological issues that surround the early Hellenistic occupation of Cyprus. In general, the chronology of the early Hellenistic period is problematic, as both material and literary sources are limited for the crucial decades following the tumultuous events surrounding Alexander's death and the conflicts of his successors[1]. Vigla has the potential to provide much needed material evidence to help parse the chronological problems of the early Hellenistic period, and it represents an opportunity to examine mechanisms of subjugation and control used by Alexander's successors in conquering Cyprus.

The 2019 field season marks the 15th year of fieldwork for PKAP. Past seasons have focused on intensive pedestrian survey, limited excavation, and geophysical prospecting. Over the course of four seasons of excavation (2008, 2009, 2012, 2018) ten soundings were completed on the plateau, which have uncovered a wealth of early Hellenistic artifacts and architecture. The 2019 field season involved three excavation units on the height of Vigla along its northern edge, southern edge, and interior plain (EUs 19, 20, 21, and 22) (**fig. 2**). These units served to address four overarching research goals. First, to ascertain whether the fortification wall, uncovered in the north in 2012 and 2018, encircled the entire plateau. Second, to determine the date, size, and construction methods of the fortification system. Third, to continue to build a study collection of early Hellenistic pottery to address a broader chronology problem related to the early Hellenistic period. Fourth, to uncover structures within the fortified space to begin to reveal the domestic functions of the site.

1 Rostovtzeff 1941; Grainger 1990; Ma 2000.

Fig. 1: Map of Cyprus showing the study area of the Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project.

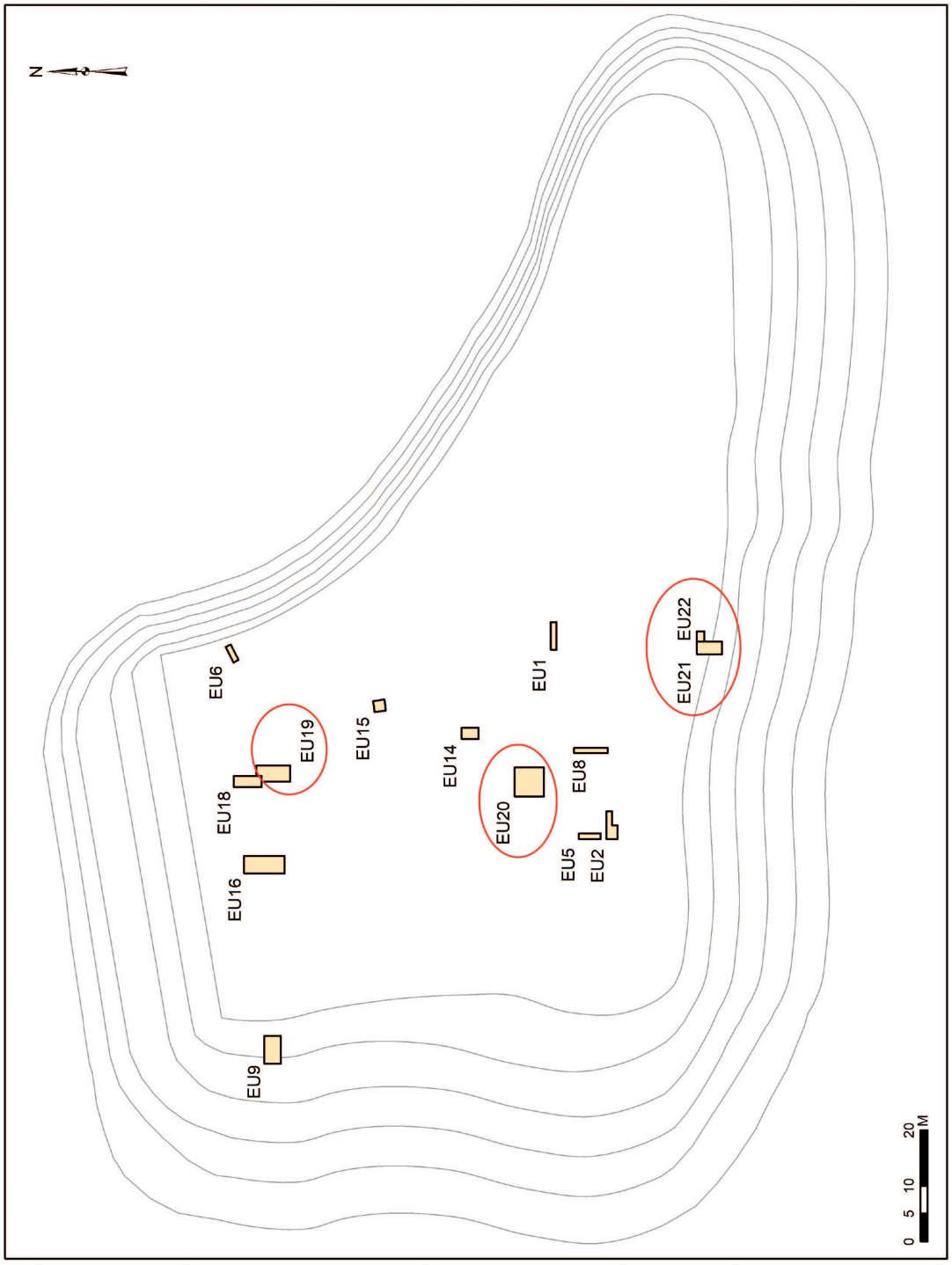


Fig. 2: A contour map of the Vigla plateau noting all previously excavated soundings and the 2019 units (EUs 19, 20, and 21/22) in red.

To achieve these goals one 3 x 6 meter unit (EU 19) was placed immediately southeast of a previously excavated unit (EU 18) in an area that spanned the ridge that marked the northern edge of the plateau. The unit is also 5 m to the east of a stretch of the northern fortification wall exposed by looters in 2008 and approximately 10 meters east of a sounding that initially exposed the fortification wall in 2012 (EU 16). A 5 x 5 meter unit (EU 20) was placed within the plain with the goal of uncovering domestic structures and a 2 x 5 meter unit (EU 21 and a small extension to the east, EU 22) was situated on the south ridge to identify the southern fortification wall.

A. Excavation of EU 19

EU 19 was excavated from May 25 – June 11, 2019 with the explicit goal of identifying the south face of the mudbrick fortification wall founded on stone socles whose north face was identified in 2018 in EU 18 (**fig. 3**). Broader goals of this trench were to compare architectural construction methods, especially with EU 21 and EU 22 excavated this year, and to gather more data about the dating of this northern fortification.

In exposing the south face, a task not achieved in 2018, evidence concerning the size, construction methods, and track of the northern fortification system would come to light. The trench produced a sizable amount of finds, with ceramics dating from the Iron Age to the early Hellenistic period, faunal remains, shell, metal weapons including a sling bullet and two projectile points, and some worked stone. After identifying in situ mudbrick in the southern baulk of EU 19, it was clear that the southern extent of EU 19 was still within the mudbrick cover of the greater fortification system despite it being situated nearly 4 meters from the walls northern face. Because it was no longer possible to answer the initial research question, the research program changed to address two other issues. First, delineate the width of the large ashlars comprising the north wall face and second, to determine the preserved height of the wall. To accomplish this, two smaller soundings were opened within the unit, one in the northeast and another in the southeast. Excavations in the northeast sounding confirmed that the north face of the wall found in EU 18 continues NE and follows the expected trajectory. Also, the large ashlars discovered in 2018 are less than 0.5 meters thick along the upper courses. In the southern sounding there were multiple burned destruction layers of mudbrick upon which the in situ mudbricks were found. Bedrock was discovered at an elevation of 55.77 m, more than 2 meters below the current ground surface, with cultural material found throughout. Thus, the northern fortification wall was built on bedrock and is preserved to a height of at least 2 meters. Overall, this trench confirms the north face of the mudbrick wall founded on stone socles, confirms that the mudbrick superstructure was constructed in the early Hellenistic period due to the absence of later pottery styles as well as the site's overarching stratigraphic profile, and shows the difference in construction methods for different parts of the fortification wall.

Features

There were two features identified in EU 19, both of which were portions of the same wall.

- **8027_F1**: The NE-SW oriented fortification wall with a mudbrick superstructure. Although it was not possible to identify the absolute thickness of the wall, some facts regarding its construction came to light. It was confirmed that it does, at least on its northern face, follow the NE-SW angle that was identified in EU 18 in 2018. The thickness of the wall from the first clear mudbrick in the eastern baulk to the SE corner of the trench (which is still within the mudbrick wall) is about 4.30 m. The thickness of the wall from the projected line of the ashlar (8032_F1) is even larger at about 4.80 m because the preserved mudbrick in the eastern baulk was not directly above the line of the ashlars we found. The top of this preserved mudbrick was not far beneath the topsoil and mudbrick collapse, about 6 cm below the start of the trench. A clear line of red mortar on the north

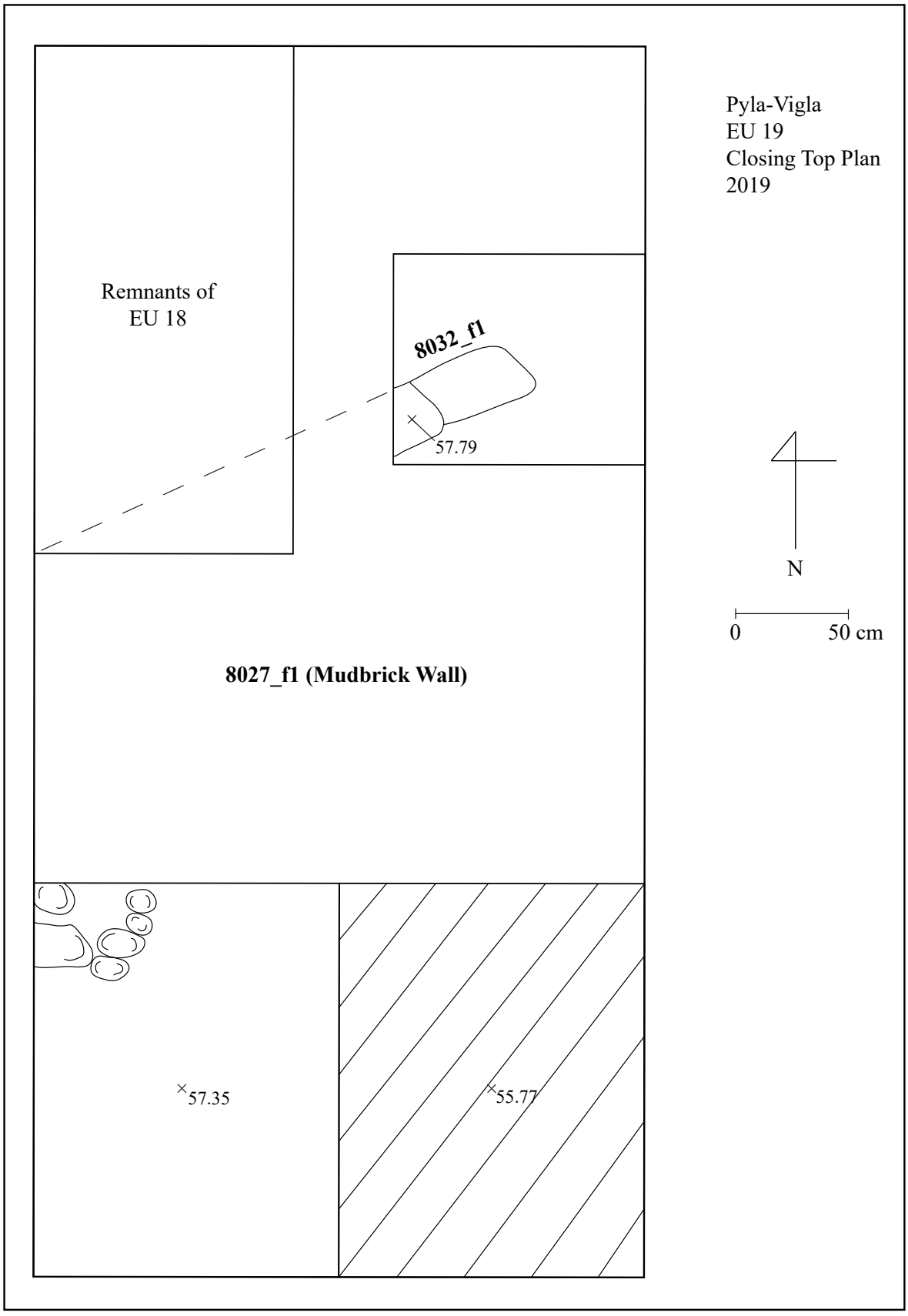


Fig. 3: Final excavated top plan of EU 19.

was observed and identical to mortar lines discovered in 2018. There was, however, a lack of in situ horizontal mortar lines, which was likely a result of the way the mudbrick wall collapsed in the south.

Unlike the mudbrick section in the northern part of the wall, the sounding of the mudbrick wall in the southern part of the wall showed that the mudbrick section, at least in that area, was not founded upon ashlar blocks. While it is difficult to interpret the construction completely, it seems like after a packing fill to even out the bedrock, there was a burning event that hardened mudbrick followed stratigraphically by numerous and successive ash layers, atop of which were positioned in situ mudbricks. While no significant cobble layers showed up in the scarps (except for the tumble in the western scarp of the mudbrick wall sounding, many cobbles and some boulders were uncovered that could have served as some sort of foundation for the subsequent fill and mudbrick superstructure. It also appears that the interior of the wall was filled with rubble and soil, instead of the wall being a solid mudbrick superstructure. At times during excavation it was difficult to differentiate between the intentional rubble fill and what was certainly a post-construction collapse. The presence of rubble in line with in situ mudbrick in the east scarp of the mudbrick wall sounding and the presence of rubble on the interior of mudbrick lines in the west scarp of the trench suggest that a rubble core was a key structural element of the fortification system.

- **8032_F1**: The NE-SW angled ashlars that served as socles for the mudbrick superstructure in the northern section of the wall. While this feature may still be part of the same fortification wall, it confirms the construction discovered in 2018 along the northern face of the fortification wall (limestone ashlar with mudbrick superstructure). The feature consists of one full ashlar in the center of the sounding (slightly chipped in the NE corner and slightly dislodged from the connecting ashlar to its SW). Only the NE corner of the second connecting ashlar to the full ashlar was revealed in the SW corner of the sounding. The full ashlar is about 28 cm wide, 56 cm long, and 50 cm thick. We found a second ashlar course beneath the first and then, having answered our research question, stopped excavation.

Finds

Most of the ceramics upon preliminary analysis date from the late Classical to early Hellenistic period. Some Iron Age sherds were identified, but these came from within the mudbrick wall. Thus, they seem to have been used as temper during mudbrick construction and are mixed in with late Classical to early Hellenistic finds. This is not too surprising since some Iron Age sherds have been found in the previous survey and excavation units. Other ceramic finds of note include an almost complete Hellenistic lamp and an almost complete echinus bowl with an alpha graffito on its base. Other significant finds include faunal bone (especially in the ash layers in the mudbrick wall sounding), shell, some worked stone, metal weapons, and a few beads. The metal weapons include one lead sling bullet, a bronze projectile point, and an iron projectile point.

Conclusions

The EU revealed that the construction and plan of the fortification in the northeast section of the plain is more complex than originally thought. While the trench does not fully answer research questions regarding the wall's extant dimensions and construction style, it does show that there is a difference in construction at the northern face of the wall (ashlar with mudbrick superstructure) and the section of the wall found in the southern part of the trench (mudbrick superstructure founded upon burned mudbrick layer, cobbles, and fill). The presence of late Classical to early Hellenistic finds throughout all stratigraphic layers suggests that the original

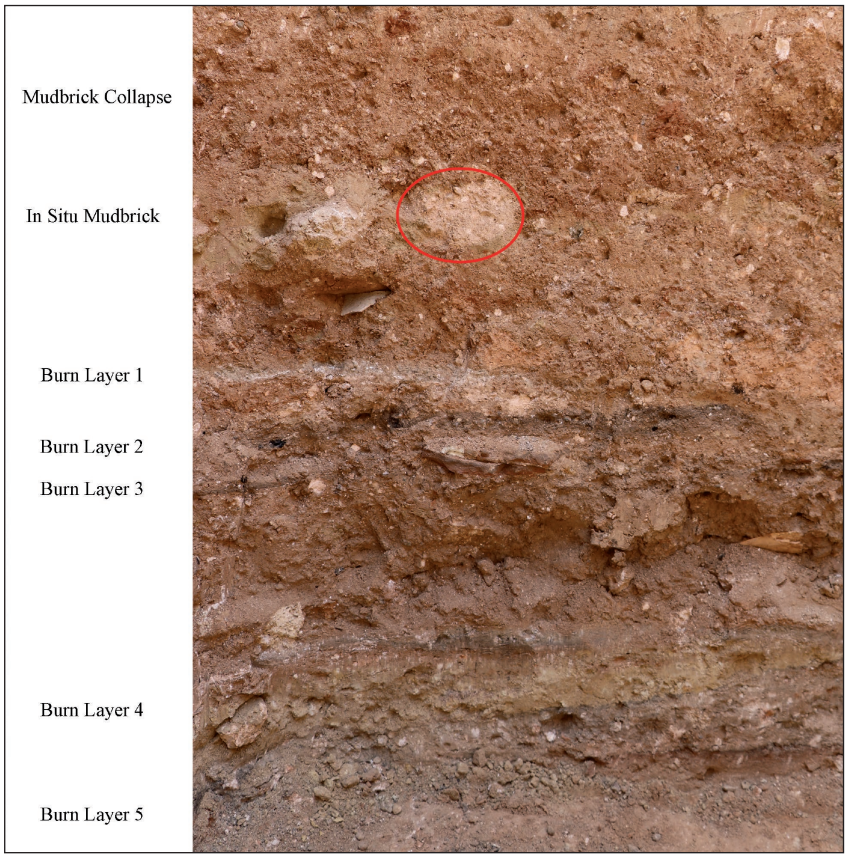


Fig. 4:
In progress stratigraphic profile of the southern bulk of EU 19 showing the unit's basic stratigraphy: mudbrick collapse, irregularly spaced in situ mudbricks, and successive burning events.

dating of this wall to the early Hellenistic period is correct. Besides the topsoil and plow zone, there are several ancient phases that can be identified (from latest to earliest):

- **Phase 3**: Mudbrick collapse. The collapse of the mudbrick superstructure was found throughout the entire trench, indicating that the architecture had an impressive superstructure. The scarp clearly shows two lines of collapse (the gray mudbrick collapse surrounding the in situ red mudbricks and the collapse above with a few angled gray mudbricks in line with a few stones in tumble). From field analysis, no sherds later than the early Hellenistic period (mid-3rd cent. BCE) seem to have been included in this mudbrick collapse event.
- **Phase 2**: Mudbrick superstructure. This phase represents the construction of the wall. Given the differences in the construction in the northern face and the portion of the wall excavated in the south of EU 19, it is not readily clear if these two construction types were done at the same time. Due to the in situ mudbrick in the scarps corresponding to these layers, it seems like these two layers were made at the same time. The mixture of Iron Age sherds with late Classical to early Hellenistic sherds shows that Iron Age sherds were used for temper during the construction of the mudbricks in the late Classical to early Hellenistic periods (late 4th to mid-3rd cent. BCE). The ashlars with mudbrick sections are also likely from this construction event, but comparisons of deposits from EU 18 and EU 19 will have to confirm this as well as further excavation of the architecture in this area.
- **Phase 1**: Successive destruction layers. While this phase in fact represents at least five separate burning events, some of the stratigraphic burn layers are so close together that it is difficult to distinguish them even in profile. Also, given the short occupation of the

site to the early Hellenistic period, it is possible that these burning events happened in rapid succession of each other (**fig. 4**).

Although in some ways there are more questions than answers as a result of excavating EU 19, it is significant for several reasons. First, no extant ancient material later than the early Hellenistic period was found, again confirming the date of the site and the construction of this fortification wall. Second, the construction of the wall is more complex than initially assumed. The differences in construction in the northern face and the portion excavated in the southern part of EU 19 are very interesting. It should be confirmed in future years whether these two construction methods are indeed used for the same architectural feature and do date to the same construction phase. Despite its unusual form, the fortification in EU 19 must have been large and impressive. Perhaps the variation in construction, such as the use of ashlar on one side of the wall but not throughout the whole wall, indicates a sense of expediency and the inhabitants of this fortress needed to construct the site within a certain time frame. Overall, EU 19 again reinforces the notion that Vigla was used as a fortification during the turbulent Hellenistic period of different kingdom successions.

B. Excavation of EU 20

Vigla EU 20 was excavated May 22 – June 11, 2019 (**fig. 5**). The purpose of the unit was twofold: first, to gain a better understanding of the types of behaviors that took place within the fortified space; and second, to explore the remains in preparation for a research program focusing on the domestic functions of the site focusing on continued excavation, material studies, and floral and faunal investigations based on botanical sampling via floatation and directed analysis of faunal remains. Material collected from EU 20 contributes also to the larger goals of excavations at Vigla including the chronological refinement of local and regional architectural phases using ceramics, comparing survey and excavation data to explore successes and pitfalls in current archaeological method, and contribute to the ongoing discussion in the eastern Mediterranean on the effects and material consequences of Hellenistic empires.

Features discovered in EU 20 include five walls delineating a minimum of three rooms, two in the east and one in the west, and a series of floor surfaces. Since coarse wares, cooking wares, and amphoras dominated the ceramic assemblage, along with some evidence for industrial or administrative activity, these rooms were likely domestic in nature. A floor surface was recovered in each room, suggesting that they were interior spaces. In the southeast and west rooms, the floor overlays an earlier architectural phase. At this stage, there were at least three phases of activity in the space. The first wall construction and associated floors has yet to be explored, the second wall construction and floors are discussed below, and the final phase consisted of a cut into the northeastern and some of the southeastern rooms. The quick succession suggested by the close ceramic dates between the floors, fills on top of them, and the pit fill supports the short period of occupation previously discovered at Vigla. The assemblages for all exposed phases date to the late Classical to early Hellenistic periods. Evidence for explicit military activity is interspersed with the implements and necessities of daily life in a domestic context.

The North-South Oriented Wall: 8052_f1

8052_f1 was the first wall to be revealed, and divided EU 20 roughly in half into two interior spaces. Similar to walls found elsewhere on the plateau, like EU 1, 8, and 14, the walls were constructed in random roughly coursed uncut field stones. No clear evidence of mortar was detected, but a compact clay soil was found between many stones. Since it is difficult to discern if that represents mortar, it likely is the result of mudbrick collapsing and filling gaps in the walls over time. The average size of the stones were small cobbles, but some stones, especially those near wall joins were larger cobbles. The width is approximately 35 cm. One stone in the centre includes a rounded cutting that could represent a space for a particular

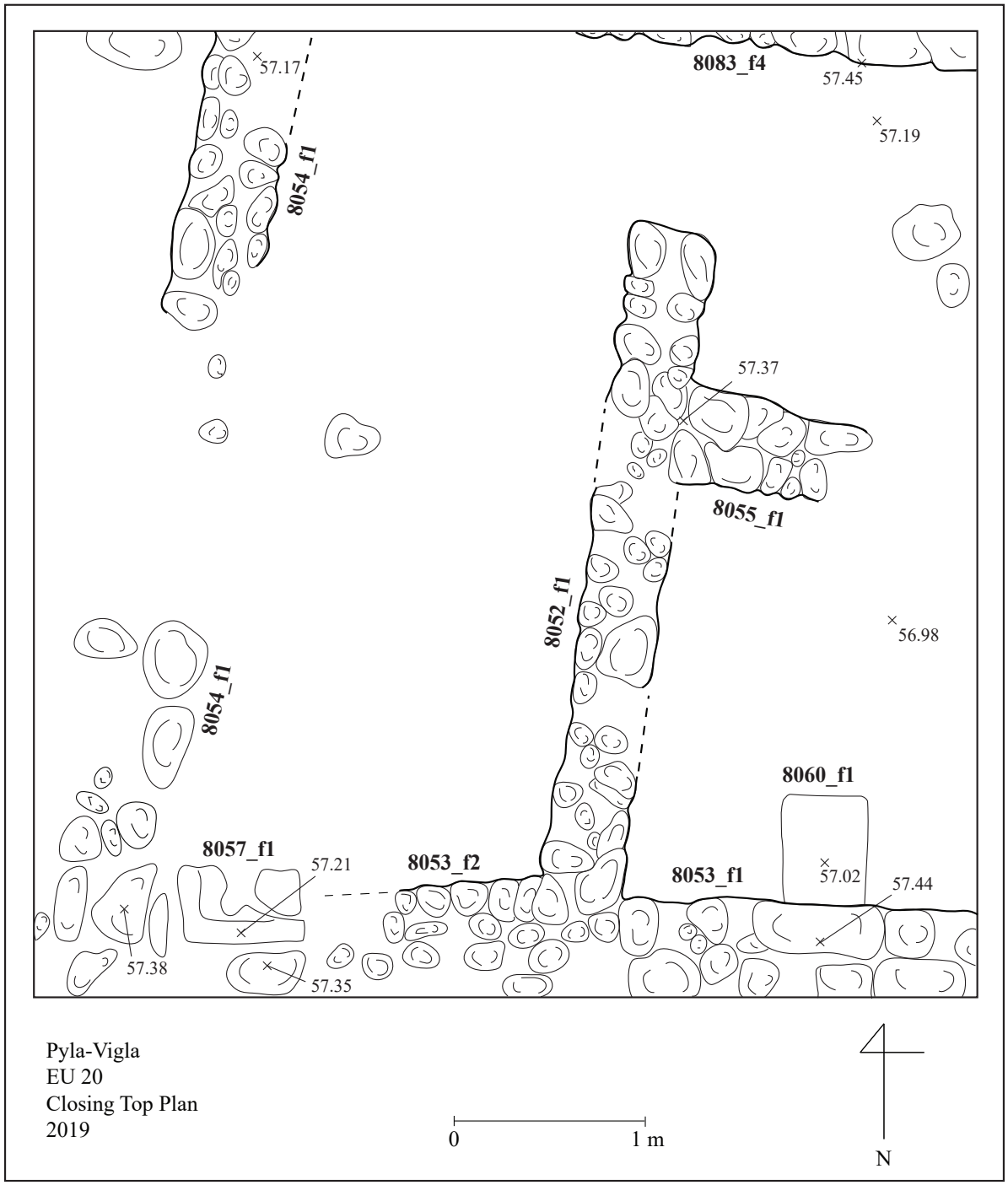


Fig. 5: Final excavated top plan of EU 20 at close of the 2019 season.

function. The round cut itself, however, does not have an even interior which would make it difficult for a door post or other instrument to operate in that space. The wall adjoins wall 8053_f1 and 8053_f2, indicating that they are contemporary in construction. A total of at least four rough courses were exposed by the end of the 2019 season. A doorway covered with a floor joining the floor of the northeastern room runs through the missing portion of the wall, further solidifying the contemporary nature of the eastern and western last floor phases in EU 20.

The East-West Oriented Wall 8053_f1

8053_f1 bounds the southern extent of the southeastern room of EU 20. It adjoins 8052_f1 on its western end and continues into the scarp on the eastern end. Its maximum recorded height is 29 cm, and it likely does not go any deeper since we uncovered an earlier construction phase (8060_f1) overlaid by 8053_f1. It certainly had a mudbrick superstructure, made clear by the clayey soil excavated in the southeast room. The construction method is identical to 8052_f1.

The East-West Oriented Wall 8053_f2 and Installation 8057_f1

8053_f2 bounds the southern extent of the western room of EU 20. It adjoins 8052_f2 on its eastern end. The western end remains unclear, but likely continues into the scarp. Overall the construction method and socle height (approximately 20 cm) mirror 8053_f1 and 8052_f1. Two moments of its construction make it unique, however. The first is the installation in the wall, 8057_f1. This installation consists of a cut square block on two levels, with a square indentation on the lower level, made in a different non-local sparkling stone. To the immediate west of the square block is a large upright stone slab that is likely part of this installation. Many of the stones to the west of this slab were loose and removed, but the slab itself continues into the soil beyond the depth that was excavated. The upright stone and square stepped installation suggest that this space was a demarcated entryway from the exterior to the interior of the building. No parallel for this exists at Vigla so far. The other unique feature is the incorporation of a likely earlier construction phase immediately east of 8057_f1. The small square cut block is also of a similar stone to 8057_f1, but has not been given its own feature number at this point because its original use (if not its current position) remains unclear. The cut stone, however, is similar to 8060_f1, found in the southeastern room, made of cut blocks prior to the current standing socles. Unlike 8053_f1, however, 8053_f1 incorporates this block into its construction. This reuse of a cut block could be to further accentuate the entryway.

The East-West Oriented Wall 8055_f1

8055_f1 is contemporary and adjoining 8052_f1 near its center and runs toward the east, splitting the eastern half of EU 20 into two rooms. Its construction is identical to 8052_f1 and the walls exposed in 8053. The current end of the wall within EU 20 could represent the doorway between the northeastern and southeastern rooms, but cut 8056_f1 prevents us from full understanding that relationship. The easternmost set of stones jut into 8056_f1.

Ashlar Wall in Southeastern Room 8060_f1

8060_f1 is an earlier wall, overlaid by 8053_f1 and the surface, 8060. Like other units on the plateau, the latest floor overlays an earlier phase of wall construction. The exposed wall only includes one large cut ashlar block and a series of three smaller cut blocks to its west. Since this is all of the wall excavated to this point, the direction in which it would have run is unclear. Both the stratigraphy and the masonry style confirm that this is a different phase of construction from 8053_f1. The field stone wall overlaying cut ashlars is similar to what was found in EU 21 and 22 this season, though the scale is much smaller.

Fig. 6: Photograph of the floor surface (8060) discovered in the southeast room of EU 20 with an echinus bowl and bronze coin in situ shown in red.

Floor Surfaces

8060: Surface deposit in southeast room (sandy silt, moderately compact), which represents the final occupational layer on top of the latest floor in the southeast room of EU 20. The surface overlays at least two ashlar blocks (8060_f1) that represent the currently exposed section of an earlier wall in the area (**fig. 6**). Large amphora sherds and many cooking wares were removed but fine wares were much rarer with the exception of the complete echinus bowl (8060_FS_1001). A bronze coin was also found on this floor.

8061: Surface Deposit in west room – Upper Level (silty sand, moderately compact) represents the majority of occupational debris, rather than tumble and fill, in the west room of EU 20. Although soil was removed to excavate the vessels sitting in this deposit, the majority of the excavation in this stratigraphic unit was the removal of pottery itself. The ceramic vessels include an almost complete cookpot and plate, a basket-handled amphora, and at least one imported amphora.

8062: Fill in northeast room, Level 2 (sandy silt, compact). SU 8062 represents the second layer of tumble debris in the northeastern room of EU 20. The removal of this layer exposed a redder and looser soil. The soil and its stone inclusions looked nearly identical to that excavated in the southeastern room. 8062_FS_1001, a sling bullet, and 8062_FS_1002, a complete bronze nail, were recovered along the northwestern edge of the room. The complete profile of a disc-footed incurved rim bowl was also excavated in this layer, from the southern edge of the room. Two bags of ceramics, one of stone, one of shell, one of beads, and one of iron were collected. A net weight was also found in this unit, comparable to those found elsewhere in EU 20.

8064: Surface Deposit in Northeast Room (silty sand, lightly compacted). SU 8064 represents the occupational debris of the final use life of the northeast room of EU 20. The floor surface continues into the area north of SU 8052_f1, which confirms that the wall terminates in

a doorway at this point. The large rocks exposed in that area were all removed since they were tumble. Other large stones, possibly tumble from 8055_f1, were removed from the boundary of 8064 and 8056. Fewer artifacts were removed on this floor than SU 8060 or 8061 elsewhere in EU 20. Local coarse ware sherds and some transport amphora dominate the collected pottery. One bag of pottery, one of bone, one of beads, and one of shell were collected.

Finds

Most of the finds from EU 20 consisted of late Classical to early Hellenistic ceramic material. There is a high proportion of transport vessels, small storage vessels, and cooking wares, but fine wares remain fairly rare. Most appear to be in local fabrics, or Cypriot amphora fabric, but Attic fine ware imports and imported amphoras were found. An array of metal and stone special finds, however, show the diversity of objects deposited in this space. Artifacts found include the following: a bronze ring, three lead sling bullets, three bronze coins, a bronze implement, an echinus bowl, and a bronze nail.

Conclusions

EU 20 has exposed a minimum of three rooms whose latest occupation dates to the late Classical to early Hellenistic periods. Natural soil below plow furrows sealed the deposits in EU 20, preventing any risk of later contamination in units with numbers higher than EU 8053. The last activity in the space was the cutting and filling of a bothros (pit), which removed part of the east-west wall 8055_f1 along with the latest floor levels and abandonment fill in the building. Although no definitive typological differentiation can be made of the ceramic material from the pit and the repertoires of earlier stratified levels at this point, the unique rolled lead and higher quantities of fine wares suggest that the fill did not originate in the rooms in EU 20. The functional assemblage of this bothros, though certainly in a secondary context, suggests that its content did not match the domestic function of the rooms in EU 20.

The abandonment fills match the qualities of comparable deposits discussed from elsewhere on the plateau. A substantial quantity of mudbrick in the soil confirms the presence of a mudbrick superstructure on the smaller buildings found at Vigla, in addition to the mudbrick used for fortification walls. The presence of sling bullets only in the upper levels of these fills could lend credence to a forced abandonment of the site, however the lack of definitive ash levels suggests that if there was a forced removal of the population, it did not result in any destruction of the infrastructure.

Continuity in floor construction (compact earth with scarce patches of gypsum flooring) at a comparable elevation, suggests that the final use of the entire structure was contemporary. The nature of the occupation appears to be domestic, but the lack of table wares suggests that drinking and dining in these rooms was minimal. The abundance of cooking wares paired with the lack of burnt surfaces or soil patches suggests that the actual cooking occurred in either controlled elevated braziers, now missing, or elsewhere inside or outside the structure. Without comparanda from elsewhere on the site, it is difficult to assess the importance of a demarcated threshold on the entryway. The potential storage quantity in this building, reflected through storage vessels and transport amphoras, could reveal a useful comparative statistic with which to place the importance and/or function of this building in relation with its contemporaries on the plateau after the opening of other large 5 x 5 excavation units.

The importance of EU 20, even in the early stages of its excavation, are twofold. First, EU 20 provides the largest glimpse into life on the Vigla plateau assessed by PKAP to this point. It offers the opportunity to create the first dataset for comparative studies that operate at the room-wide or building-wide scale. Second, the presence of many consistent artifact types from a roughly contemporary time period further confirms the tight chronological range in which this site was occupied.

C. Excavation of EU 21 and EU 22

Vigla EU 21 and EU 22, Unit 21's small eastern extension, was excavated from May 23 – June 8, 2019 (**fig. 7**). The purpose of Vigla EU 21 was to ascertain whether the monumental fortification wall discovered in 2012 in EU 16 continued around the entirely of the plateau and determine its date and construction. The purposes of extending EU 21 following its excavation included the following: determine if the ashlar construction at the base of the field-stone wall continues to the east, excavate a pottery deposit exposed in the eastern bulk of EU 21, and use the aforementioned ceramic deposit to provide further dating evidence for the construction.

The unit produced an assemblage of artifacts consisting of varied ceramics, metal weapons, shells, and three coins. The main feature uncovered in the trench was an in situ two-phased field stone socle. Its later phase is comparable in size and construction to the wall excavated in 2012 (EU 16). The stone socle and its mudbrick super structure served as the fortification wall for the southern slope. The earlier wall phase was set immediately atop bedrock. Altogether this excavation substantiates the chronology and overarching site function of Vigla, established by four previous seasons of limited excavation in 2008, 2009, 2012, and 2018, continuing to indicate an early Hellenistic presence at the site military in nature, while the earlier phase of construction demonstrates at the very least a small likely pre-Hellenistic presence on the site and one that the early Hellenistic inhabitants incorporated into their building plan.

Features

There were two features identified in Vigla EU 21 and EU 22.

- **Late phase of the fortification wall 8076_f1**: This fortification wall was found directly beneath the overburnt layer (SU 8076). The southern edge of the wall was visible prior to excavations. It is an unevenly founded wall of rough-hewn fieldstones that runs across the trench from east to west, with a maximum height of six courses measuring 0.75 m. The size and construction methods of this feature mirror are similar to those discovered in EU 16 in 2012 along the northern edge of the plateau. The wall is founded in the west on a pre-existing feature (8084_f1) and in the east on a layer of sediment, used as a leveling agent, set atop bedrock. The wall served as a stone socle for the site's main southern fortification wall.
- **Earlier phase of the fortification wall 8084_f1**: This feature is immediately beneath the rough-hewn field stone socle discussed above (8076_f1). Its exact size could not be determined as it was impossible to distinguish its extant dimensions, though parts of the feature are visible on both sides of the later wall. The west side of the feature continues into the west bulk of EU 21, while its eastern edge was identified approximately 2.3 meters from the west bulk of EU 21. The feature is constructed with a single course of cut ashlars arranged in a linear fashion and set immediately atop bedrock. The function and precise date of this feature is unknown.

Finds

Most of the artifacts excavated in EU 20 and EU 21 consisted of ceramics of primarily late Classical to early Hellenistic date. The pottery categories include cooking wares, utilitarian and storage vessels (amphorae), and fine wares bowls, dishes, and cups. There was also a sizeable assemblage of stone, shell remains and metals. Artifacts of note found in EU 20 and EU 21 include the following: two bronze coins, an iron knife point, iron projectile point, and a lead weight.

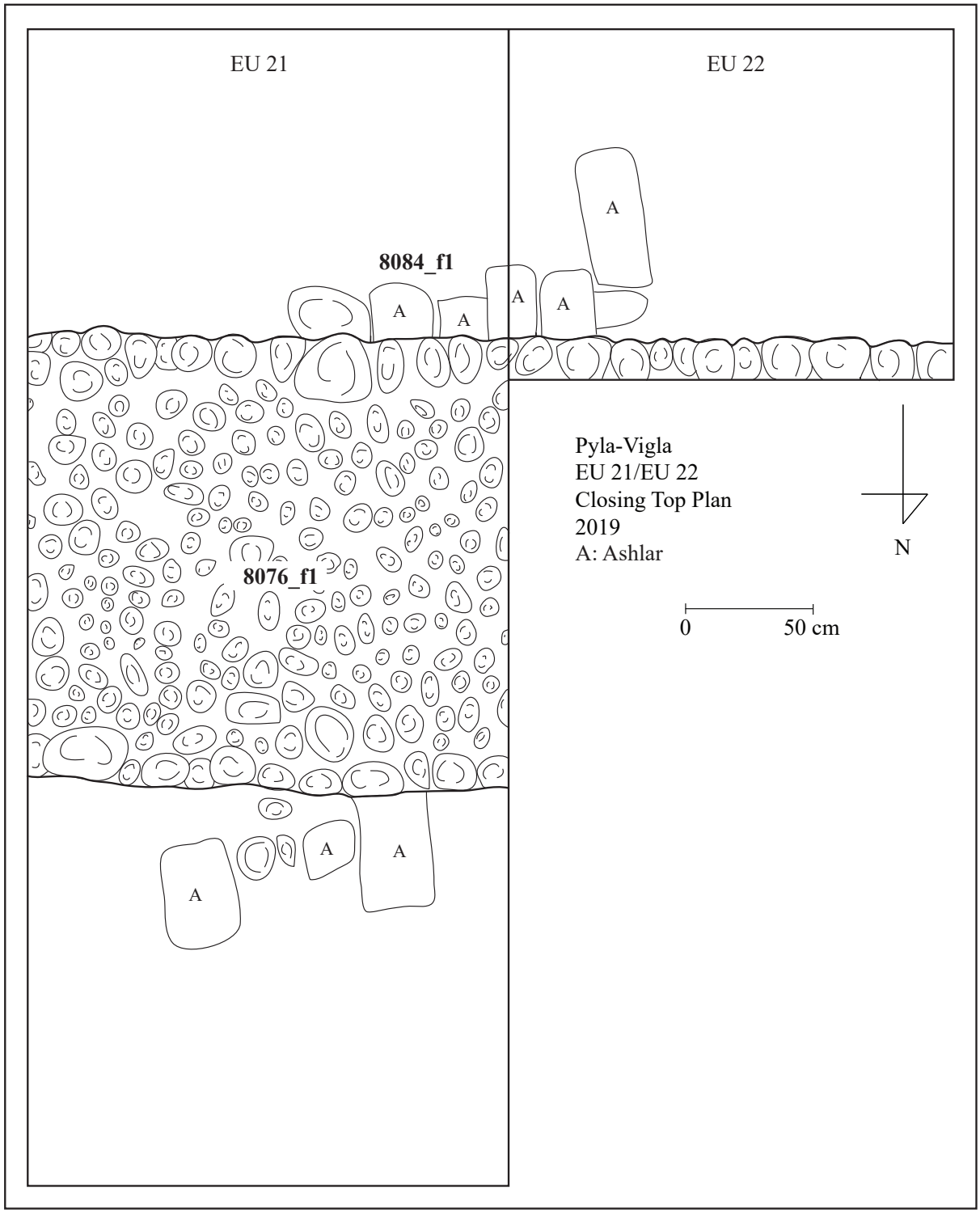


Fig. 7: Final excavated top plan of EU 21/22.

Fig. 8: Photograph of the southern fortification wall exposed in EU 21/22.

Conclusions

EU 20 and EU 21 have helped us further parse the fortification system surrounding the Vigla plateau and challenged some of our assumptions about the nature of the occupation at Vigla. Architecture found up to this point has been small in scale, mainly consisting of roughly-hewn field stone socles with mudbrick superstructures, and set immediately atop bedrock (**fig. 8**). The discovery of an ashlar feature predating the construction of the socle associated with the southern fortification wall provides evidence of activity on the Vigla plateau before the construction of the massive fortification system in the early Hellenistic period. Future seasons of excavation are needed to clarify the nature of this structure and its date. What follows is a preliminary interpretation of the phasing of the trench.

- **Phase 1**: The first phase of EU 20 and EU 21 is the construction of the ashlar feature (8084_f1). The function of the ashlar construction is at present unknown, as is its date. It certainly predates the late stone socle but to what extent will have to wait until the recovered material culture is fully analyzed.
- **Phase 2**: The second phase is the construction of the field stone socle (8076_f1). The construction of the stone socle was, to our knowledge, the most monumental undertaking of all past construction efforts on the Vigla plateau. The sheer size, up to 3 meters wide in places, attests to an imposing fortification wall constructed of stones socles and a mudbrick superstructure protecting the plateau.
- **Phase 3**: The third phase is a mudbrick collapse episode, encompassing SUs 8080 and 8103. This level represents the collapse of the mudbrick superstructure associated with the fortification wall (8076_f1). The absence of this layer on the south side of the trench suggests that the majority of the collapse occurred inwards and whatever mudbrick remains that fell to the south eroded away over time.

D. Interpretation and Future Work

The continued excavation at Vigla offers great potential to making a meaningful contribution towards our ever-evolving understanding of the early Hellenistic period. The 2019 excavations yielded a series of site level conclusions and revealed several avenues for future research. First, based on excavations in EU 19 and EU 21/22, the 1.5 meter wide fortification wall first discovered in 2012 did encircle the plateau with a possible gate in the northwest corner. The fortification shows a significant investment by an incipient imperial body at a period of transition for the island. Second, the material remains discovered in 2019 further substantiate the site's chronology (ca. 350–275 BCE), military function, relative short life span, and the overall integrity of the stratigraphy. The site was occupied for less than a century and the remains are unobscured by extant earlier remains or later deposits. Finally, excavations in EU 20 and previous soundings on the plateau demonstrate, through the presence of multiple in situ floor surfaces associated with extant stone socles and mudbrick debris, the possibility of investigating the domestic functions of Vigla's inhabitants. Future work will focus on this very issue.

Bibliography

Grainger 1990	J. D. Grainger, The Cities of Seleukid Syria (Oxford 1990)
Ma 2000	J. Ma, Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor (Oxford 2000)
Rostovtzeff 1941	M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, 3 vols. (Oxford 1941)

Further Reading

B. R. Olson – W. Caraher – D. Pettegrew – R. S. Moore
The Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project: A Preliminary Report on Excavations at Pyla-Vigla, a Fortified Settlement Dating to the Hellenistic Era, Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections 5.3, 2013, 74–82

S. Hadjisavvas
Cyprus: Crossroads of Civilizations (Nicosia 2010)

T. Landvatter – B. R. Olson – D. S. Reese – J. Stephens –R. S. Moore
Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project: Excavations at Pyla Vigla in 2018, JHP 3, 2018, 179–186

W. Caraher – D. Pettegrew – R. S. Moore
Pyla Koutsopetria I: Archaeological Survey of an Ancient Coastal Town (American Schools of Oriental Research 2015)

W. Caraher – R. S. Moore – D. Pettegrew
Koutsopetria: Surveying a Harbor Town, NEA 71, 2008, 82–89

W. Caraher – R. S. Moore – J. S. Noller –D. Pettegrew
The Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project: Second Preliminary Report (2005–2006 Seasons), RDAC 2007, 293–306

W. Caraher – R. S. Moore – J. Noller – D. Pettegrew
The Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project: First Preliminary Report (2003–2004 Seasons), RDAC 2005, 245–268

W. Caraher – R. S. Moore – D. Nakassis – D. K. Pettegrew
Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project: Recent Work at the Site of Pyla-Vigla, RDAC 2011–2012 (2017), 443–459

A Hellenistic Farmhouse at the Entrance to the Town of El'ad

Alla Nagorsky

The northern rooms of a large structure located on a low hill rising to the height of one hundred meters above the sea level to the northeast of the entrance to the town of El'ad were seriously damaged during construction of the new patrol road around the northern residential quarter of the town in 2001[1]. The structure (41 x 28 m) was surveyed and identified as a fortress during the survey project ›Map of Rosh ha-Ain‹[2] (**fig. 1**).

It seems that the researchers came to this conclusion after finding massive northwest and northeast corners of a structure built of large fieldstones (up to 1.4 m long), which survived to the height of more than one meter. A rectangular concrete maintenance box (9.0 x 11.0 m) erected in the southeast corner and dense thickets of cacti did not allow us to examine the southern part of the ancient structure and the excavations took place only in its northern part (**figs. 2–3**).

The long outer wall 73, which bordered the structure from the north, and about ten rooms arranged in several rows along the north-south axis were partially or completely excavated. Outer and inner walls of the structure, approximately of the same width (0.85–0.90 m) were built of one row of large roughly hewn stones (1.0 x 0.80 x 0.60 m), which were arranged mainly across the walls. Rows of massive stones alternate with thin fills of small flat stones (**fig. 4**).

Sections of walls W58 and W74 were found covered with thick layer of white plaster. Mostly, the structure walls were erected on bedrock that was leveled, covered with a thick layer of white or gray plaster and served as a floor in some rooms (Loci 36. 42) (**fig. 5**).

In other rooms the floors were made of tightly packed earth (Loci 15, 34), just leveled bedrock (L35) or paved with stones (L53) (**fig. 6**).

Rooms of different sizes and configurations were arranged in several rows in the eastern part of the complex and at least in one row in its western part. Continuation of W72 and W76 to the west implies the existence of an additional space along the western wing of the

1 The rescue excavation was carried out in September 2001as a consequence of damage to the ancient sites during the construction of a new patrol road around the Northern quarter of the town of El'ad (map. ref. NIG. 195286/662265). The excavation was conducted by the author on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority with the help Diego Barkan and Felix Wolinsky (area supervision). I wish to thank Yair Rehamim and Raid Abu-Khalaf (administration), Tania Kornfeld, Avi Hajian and Lilia Bolshov (surveying and drafting), Tsila Sagiv and Clara Amit (photography), Irena Lidsky and Avshalom Karasik (pottery drawing), Elena Kupershmidt (metal conservation), Donald Ariel (numismatics).

2 Kochavi – Beit-Arieh 1994, 96, Site 230.

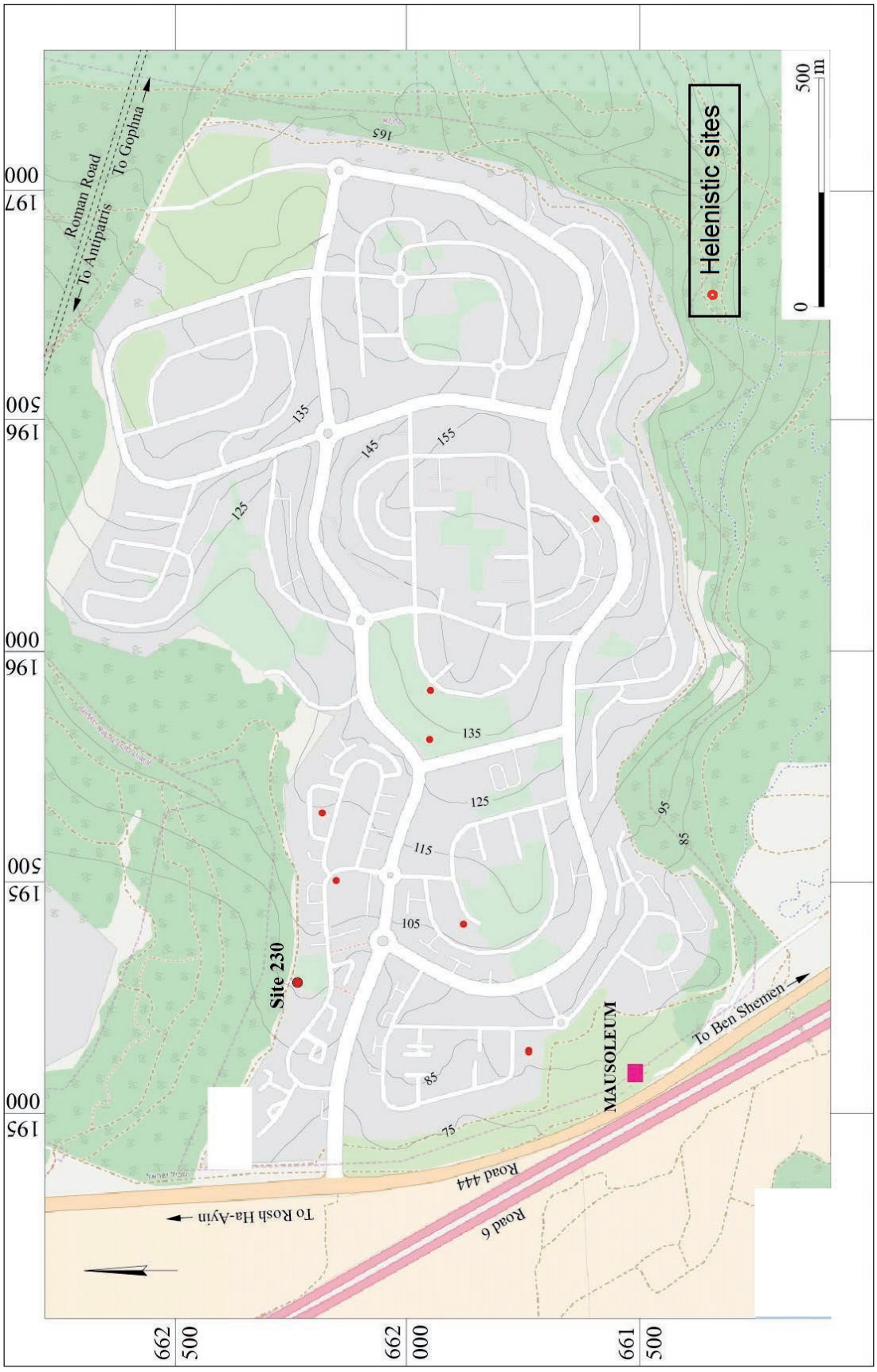


Fig. 1: Location map.

Fig. 2: Plan of the excavations.

Fig. 3: Hellenistic farmhouse. Generell view to south-east.

structure, which could have been used as an outer courtyard. All the excavated rooms were filled with massive stone collapses, while the space in the central part (Loci 16. 17) was free of stones and the bedrock here looked artificially flattened. Many spots of gray plaster survived on the bedrock.

Especially massive stone blocks were discovered in north-western corner of room (L36) and in north-eastern corner of room (L35) (**fig. 7**).

An especially large number of pottery vessels, partially intact, was collected from room L35, among them 12 jars, 17 bowls and fish plates, 1 krater, 4 cooking pots and 3 jugs (**figs. 11, 1. 4–6. 9–11. 14–16; 12, 5. 8. 12–14; 13, 3–5**). The fragment of a massive iron tool (perhaps relating to a blacksmith craft) was found within the fill close to the floor (**fig. 8**)

Forty-seven jars were found crushed by collapsed stones on the floor of elongated narrow room L15 (**fig. 9**).

Together with the jars several bowls, fish plates and fragments of two jugs were collected (**figs. 11, 2–3. 7–8. 12–13; 12, 1–4. 6–7. 9–11. 15–17; 13, 1–2**).

Room L34, next to the south of room L15 was the only place where two construction phases were discerned. Upper tightly packed earth floor L34 covered floor L53, which was built of small fieldstones (**fig. 10**)

Both these floors abutted the room walls. Six bronze coins dated to the mid-4th c. CE were found – two in the fill above the upper floor and four within the fill between two floors. The coins were found close to each other at a spot where floor L34 was slightly damaged. Since the complete absence of Late Roman or Early Byzantine ceramics on the excavated site is a fact, it is likely to assume that these six coins, dating to the middle of the 4th c. CE, were probably hidden there, and hence this find can be considered a small hoard. Another proto-Nabatean coin (110–96 BCE) was found together within the soil fill covering floor L34.

Fig. 4: The technique of walls construction.

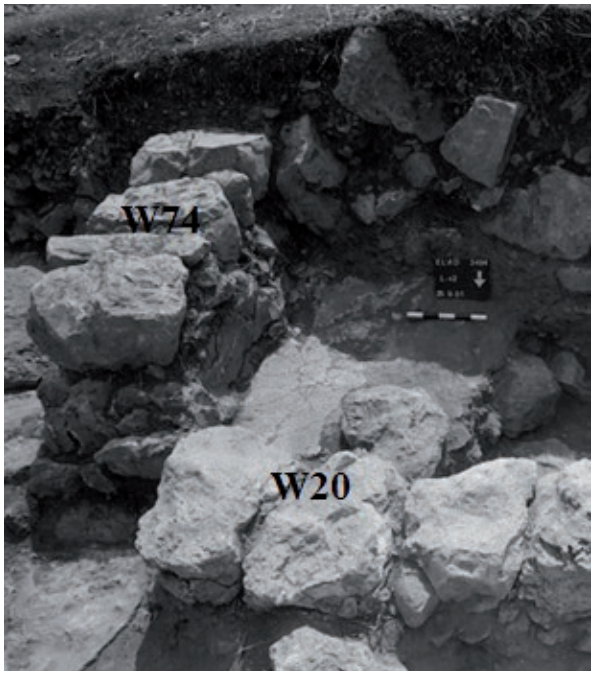


Fig. 5: Plastered floor L42. View to the south.

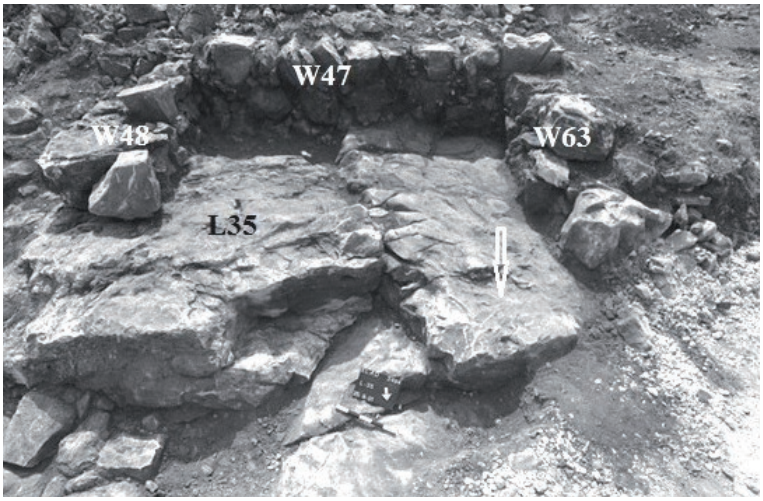


Fig. 6:
Flattened bedrock floor of room L35. View to the south.

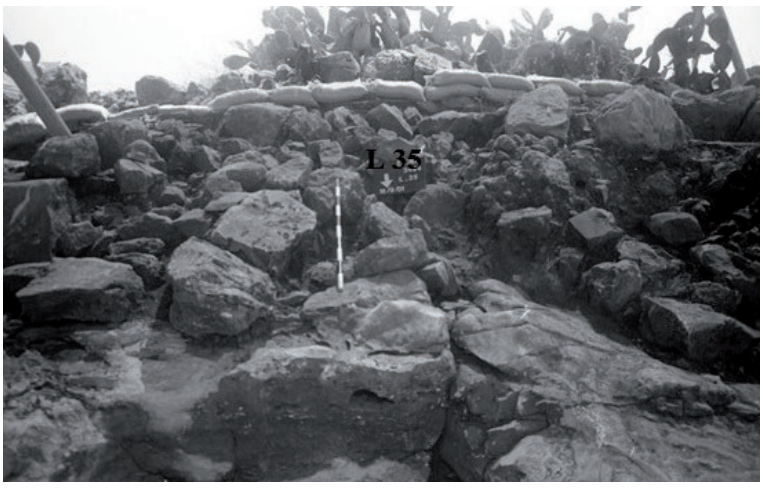


Fig. 7:
Collapse in room L35.
View to the south.

Fig. 8:
Iron tool found on the floor of room L35.

Fig. 9:
Crushed jars in room L15.
View to the south.

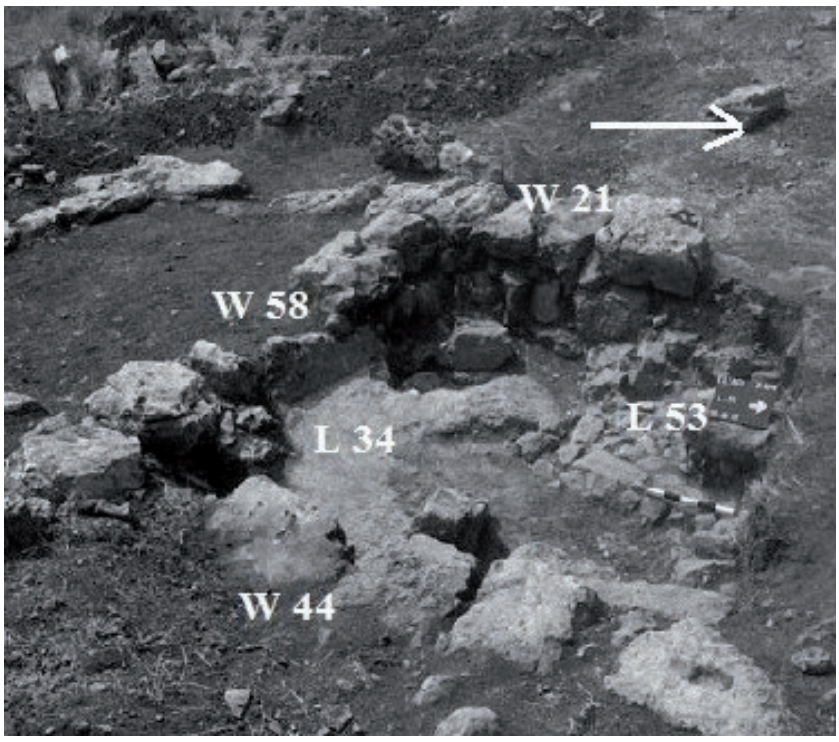


Fig. 10:
Stone floor in room L53.
View to the east.

Pottery

Alla Nagorsky – Barak Monnickendam-Givon

The pottery assemblage retrieved from the El'ad excavations is represented by finds in rooms 15 and 35/37, which could have served as storage rooms. The counts of the vessels did not aim to show the exact number of vessels found at the site but rather to illustrate the relative percentage of the different functional categories[3]. Most vessels were storage jars which comprise 61 % of the assemblage with 431 handles and rims found in these rooms and other excavated loci as well as 72 cooking-pot handles and 39 rims that comprise 16 % of the assemblage. Tableware comprises 14 % of the assemblage with 97 bowls and kraters rims, while utility wares comprised only 9 % of the assemblage with 66 rims of different types of jugs and unguentaria[4].

All types of vessels are known from different sites situated along the coastal plain of modern-day Israel as well as in the inner regions of the country. Despite the large quantity of pottery, the modest variety of types is noteworthy. The ceramic assemblage suggests a domestic context, with a noticeable predominance of storage jars that amount to more than half of all vessels. The absolute lack of oil lamps among the finds is surprising.

Tableware

The local Hellenistic repertoire of tableware represents a Levantine version of an Attic vessels type (both in shape and decoration) that is found throughout the southern Levant. The Attic types, which are common along the entire eastern Mediterranean coast, are generally dated from the mid-4th c. to the 2nd c. BCE[5]. The Levantine version first appears in the late 4th c. BCE and continues into the 1st c. BCE[6].

Bowls with incurved rim **(fig. 11, 1–7)**

Numerous bowls were collected in different rooms of the structure. The bowls have a ring or disk base, hemispheric body, and an incurved rim. Some of the bowls have an orange-brown or dull gray slip, however, most of them are plain with no slip.

The small incurved bowl was used to consume a small portion of food or drinking[7]. Bowl no. 7 is somewhat different with its deep profile and string base, at Dora this subtype of the incurved rim bowls is more dominant in the 3rd c. BCE[8].

Such bowls are common type of pottery repertoire dated to the 3rd–2nd c. BCE at different Hellenistic sites[9].

3 More on this method: Matskevich – Gilboa 2018, 173–175.

4 The calculation is based on the assumption that each vessel had only two handles. We also calculated only fully preserved handles and rims.

5 Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 131–132; Rotroff 1997, 142; Stern 1995, 52; Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 289–290.

6 Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 289–290; Monnickendam-Givon 2011, 66.

7 Hudson 2016, 215–218.

8 Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 289–290. 344–345 fig. 6.1, 34–35.

9 Tel Anafa: Berlin 1997, pl. 16, PW133–140; Akko: Berlin – Stone 2016, figs. 9.4, 4–5; 9.6, 65–67; 9.8, 5; 9.10, 12–14; 9.12, 1–5; 9.15, 6; 9.17, 1–4; Tel Dor: Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 289–290. 344–345 fig. 6.1; Apollonia: Fischer – Tal 1999, figs. 5.11, 12; 5.12, 15; Tel Michal: Fischer 1989, figs. 13.1, 1. 3–5; 13.2, 1–5. 8–9; Ramat Aviv: Gorzalczany 1999, fig. 4, 1–5; Kletter 2006, figs. 37, 4–6; 39, 5; Tirat Yehuda: Yeivin – Edelstein 1970, fig. 9, 1–4. 19–21; Tell Gezer: Gitin 1990, pls. 33, 16; 35, 3–4; 38, 6. 8. 14; 40, 1–4; Khirbet er-Rasm: Sandhaus 2011, 120 fig. 2.6, 1–5.

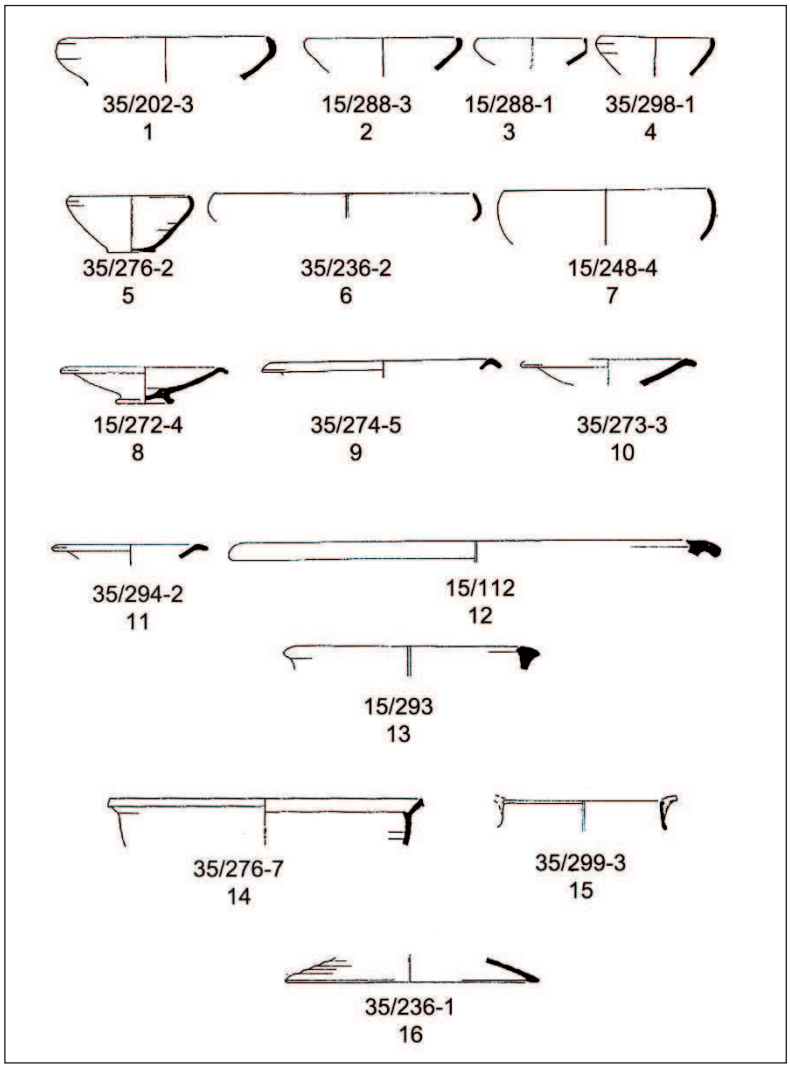


Fig. 11:
Hellenistic bowls, fish plates, kraters and cooking pots.

Saucers **(fig. 11, 8–12)**

Another type of bowls is the bowl with the out-turned or everted rim. Like the bowls with an incurved rim, the shape originates from the Attic repertoire[10]. The general dates and function of the type are correspondent to the those of the bowls with incurved rim. The assemblage found in El'ad had a significant number of saucers. Saucer no. 8 has an internal rounded depression in the Athenian ›fish-plate‹ tradition[11].

At different sites these vessels dated to the 3rd–2nd c. BCE with a few specimens that were found in the contexts of the 1st c. BCE[12].

Krater **(fig. 11, 13)**

Only a few kraters were found at El'ad. Kraters are large open vessels, usually with thick straight walls and thickened rims and, sometimes, handles. Kraters are thought to have been

10 Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 144; Rotroff 1997, 142; Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 290–294.

11 Rotroff 1997, 146–149.

12 Tel Anafa: Berlin 1997, pl. 17 PW 150–154; Akko: Berlin – Stone 2016, figs. 9.1, 1–4; 9.4, 2–3; 9.6, 4–5; 9.8, 1; 9.10, 5–10; 9.12; 9.14; 9.15, 3–5; 9.17, 5–9; 9.21, 4–5; 9.23, 8–10; Tel Dor: Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 290–292. 346–349 figs. 6.2–6.3; Apollonia: Fischer – Tal 1999, 237 fig. 5, 3–4; Tel Michal: Fischer 1989, 179. 181. 183 figs. 13.1, 7. 9; 13.2, 15; 13.3, 4–6; Ramat Aviv: Gorzalczany 1999, fig. 4, 6; Kletter 2006, figs. 37, 1–3; 39, 6; Tirat Yehuda: Yeivin – Edelstein 1970, fig. 9, 5–18; Khirbet er-Rasm: Sandhaus 2011, 123 fig. 2.6, 13–19.

used to mix and serve food and drinks. The only discerned type has a triangular rim and thin walls. Such vessels possibly started to be produced already from the mid-3rd c. BCE onward, as documented at sites such as Akko[13] and Tell Gezer[14].

Cooking Vessels

Cooking vessels comprise 16% of the overall Hellenistic pottery assemblage at El'ad. The two main vessel categories, closed globular cooking pots and open casseroles, are represented at the site, no frying pans or baking trays were found.

Casserole **(fig. 11, 14)**

Casseroles are open cooking vessels intended for versatile functions such as boiling or broiling and pot-roasting of a large portion of meat or fish. Like other vessels during the Hellenistic period, casseroles were adopted at sites in the southern Levant during the 3rd c. BCE after their earlier appearance at sites in Greece and the Aegean[15].

The casserole presented here has a squat rounded body and an everted rim, grooved on the inner side, to take the lid and a cooking pot with globular body, short vertical neck, and a simple short ledge rim. Two handles are attached from rim to shoulders.

At different sites these vessels are dated to the 3rd–2nd c. BCE[16].

Cooking Pot **(fig. 11, 15)**

Globular cooking pots are the most common cooking vessels in the southern Levant. They are used for boiling soups and porridge. Levantine cooking pots usually have a globular body, a high neck, a thickened rim, and two vertical handles stretching from rim to shoulder. Their overall shape doesn't change much from the Persian period to the Early Roman period (besides few variants of rim treatment).

The globular cooking pots presented here has a short-thickened rim and a long neck. Similar cooking pots were found at other sites located along the seashore and inland[17].

Lid **(fig. 11, 16)**

Lids are usually a flat bowl made of cooking pot material. Sometimes the lids have a thickened rim and grooves on their body. Some lids have knob handle. Cooking lids are dated from the 4th c. BCE to the 1st c. BCE at sites in the southern Levant such as Tel Anafa, Akko, and Dora[18].

Jars **(fig. 12)**

The bag-shaped jars which are the most common finds in excavations usually have a thickened rounded (nos. 9–10. 15) or outturned folded rim (nos. 1–8. 12–14. 16–17), a rounded shoulder and elongated body that widens towards a rounded base.

13 Berlin – Stone 2016, fig. 9.1, 7.

14 Gitin 1990, pl. 32, 26.

15 Sparkes 1962; Rotroff 1997, 178–186; Rotroff 2015, 180–189; Berlin 1997, 94–97.

16 Tel Anafa: Berlin 1997, pls. 28–31 PW 229–274; Akko: Berlin – Stone 2016, pls. 9.2, 5–9; 9.5, 5; 9.13, 13–15; 9.19, 10–11; 9.22, 8–9; 9.24, 8–11; Tel Dor: Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 299–300. 367–359 figs. 6.20–6.22; Apollonia: Fischer – Tal 1999, fig. 5.16, 1–4; Ramat Aviv: Gorzalczany 1999, fig. 4, 9; Tell Gezer: Gitin 1990, pls. 35, 15; 40, 27; Khirbet er-Rasm: Sandhaus 2011, 116 fig. 2.4, 14 Type R-CS1.

17 Tel Anafa: Berlin 1997, pl. 24 PW 209; Akko: Berlin – Stone 2016, figs. 9.5, 1; 9.24, 6; Tel Dor: Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 298–299. 364 fig. 6.17, 3; Apollonia: Fischer – Tal 1999, fig. 5.13, 5–6; Tirat Yehuda: Yeivin – Edelstein 1970, fig. 8, 14; Khirbet er-Rasm: Sandhaus 2011, 116 fig. 2.4, 6.

18 Tel Anafa: Berlin 1997, pls. 35–37 PW 315–339; Akko: Berlin – Stone 2016, fig. 9.22, 11–12; Dora: Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 302. 371 fig. 6.24, 1–10.

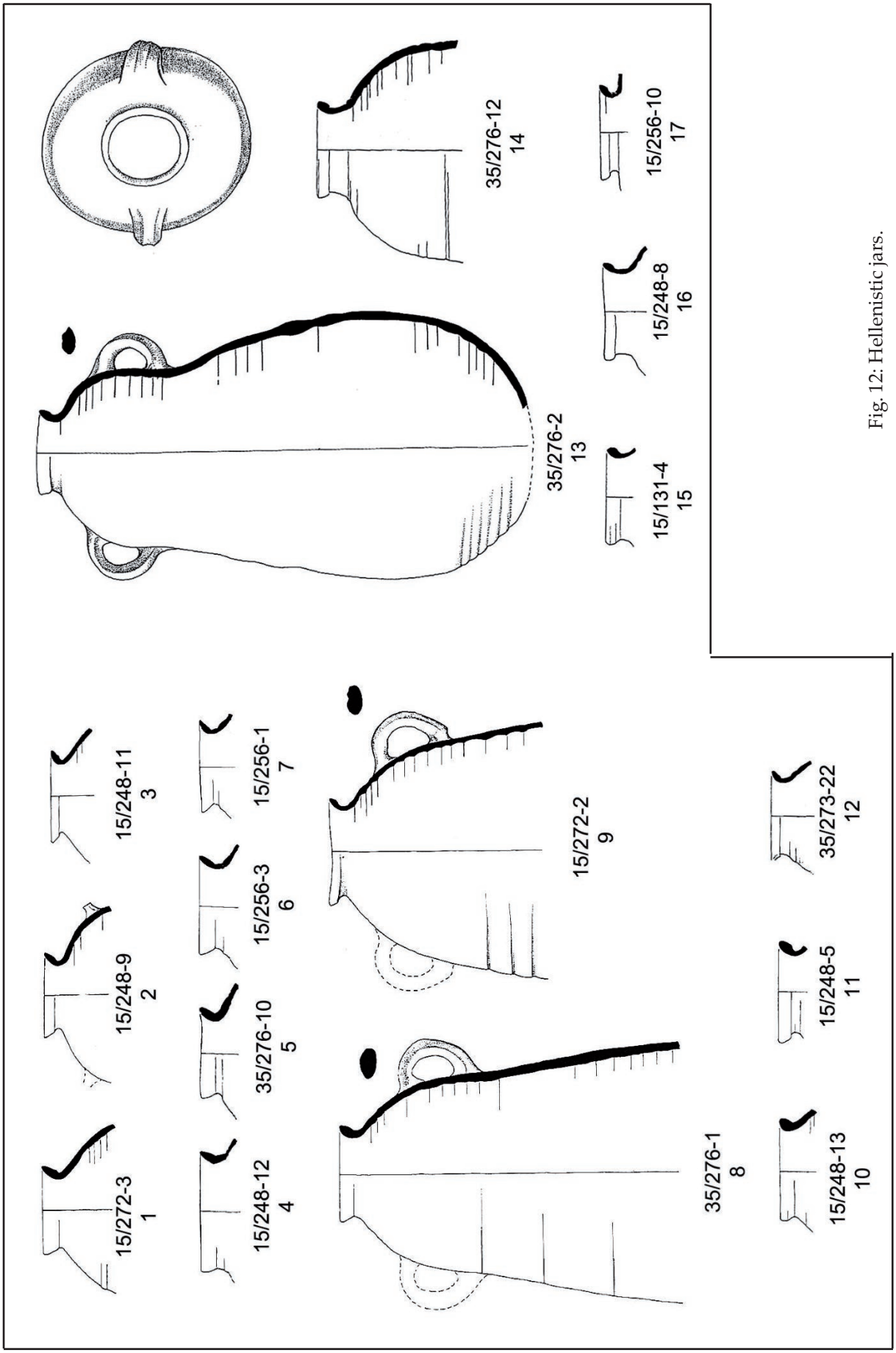


Fig. 12: Hellenistic jars.

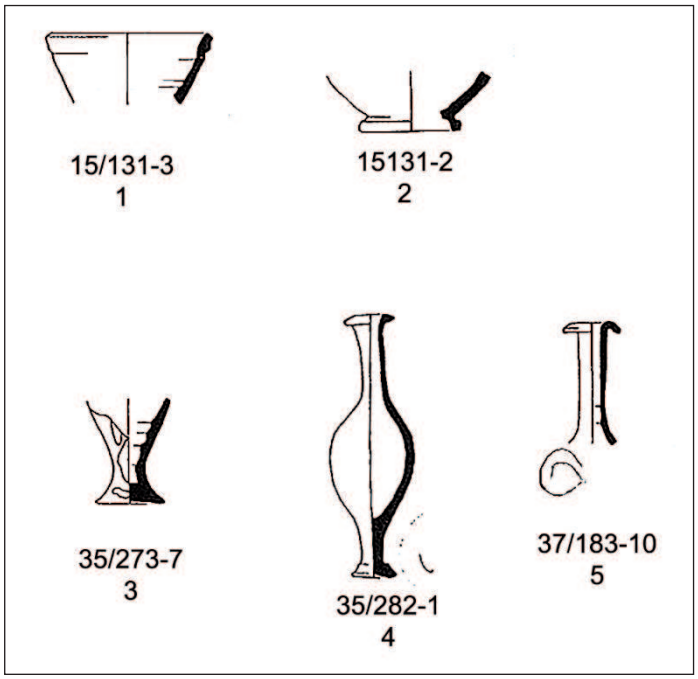


Fig. 13:
Jugs and unguentaria.

According to some complete vessels found at Dora, the measured volume of those jars is about 25.4–26 liters[19]. They are considered the local types of storage and transport jars for the region[20], continuing a Persian period jar tradition and most common at southern Levantine sites during the Hellenistic period[21]. They are found at most sites of this period along the seashore and inland[22].

***Jugs and Unguentaria* (fig. 13)**

Utilitarian vessels that generally make up a significant portion of the ceramic ensemble are represented by only a scanty variety of types.

Jugs

Nos. 1–2 are jugs with cylindrical out-flaring neck ending in an out-folded modeled rim. Usually, such jugs have a handle attached from rim to shoulder and rounded body with a ring base. They are dated to the 3rd–2nd c. BCE at Dora, Tirat Yehuda, Tell Gezer and Khirbet er-Rasm[23].

Unguentaria

Unguentaria (nos. 3–5) are fusiform, spindle-shaped or bulbous bottles, probably used to hold oil or ointment. Their wide body and narrow neck intended to store small amounts of precious liquids. They came in a variety of types, wares, sizes, and decorations, and are found

19 Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 311–312.

20 Finkielsztejn 2006, 258–261.

21 Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 311.

22 Tel Anafa: Berlin 1997, pl. 58 PW 484–485; Akko: Berlin – Stone 2016, fig. 9.19, 3; Tel Dor: Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 311. 384–386 figs. 6.35–6.37, 1–5; Apollonia: Fischer – Tal 1999, fig. 5.13, 3: Tel Michal: Fischer 1989, figs. 13.2, 20–21; 13.3, 14; Ramat Aviv: Gorzalczany 1999, fig. 4, 13–20; Tirat Yehuda: Yeivin – Edelstein 1970, fig. 6; Tell Gezer: Gitin 1990, pl. 36, 7–10; Khirbet er-Rasm: Sandhaus 2011, 106–109 fig.2.2.

23 Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 378 fig. 6.29, 13; Yeivin – Edelstein 1970, fig. 7, 5; Gitin 1990, pl. 33, 9; Sandhaus 2011, 109 fig. 2.3, 2 Type R-JG 2.

in all the Mediterranean world from Spain to Palestine[24]. Their manufacture was probably local for each site, though there were some finer ware types that were imported from specific workshops[25]. Like the tableware and cooking casseroles, unguentaria were first introduced in Greece and the Aegean before their appearance in the southern Levant[26]. Similar examples were found at many sites across the country[27].

The El'ad pottery assemblage represents a typical inland Hellenistic repertoire. The vessels document a shared lifestyle and ceramic inventory common during that time period, with casseroles, a large quantity of small tableware and ointment vessels. The lack of certain types of vessels emphasizes the rural nature of the inhabitants of the El'ad site. No imported vessels were found at the site, and the Hellenistic pottery repertoire was locally produced. Other vessels types usually found in large cities along the Levantine coast are absent from the site (such as frying pans, mold-made lamps, mold-made bowls, and braziers). The most striking phenomena are the lack of any lamps at the site, either mold-made or wheel-made. This may imply that the storage rooms were not visited or used after nightfall.

Summary

Numerous structures, agricultural installations and burials dating to the Hellenistic period are a common occurrence, often encountered within the city of El'ad and in the region around[28].

The large rectangular building 41 x 28 m, with rooms surrounding the inner courtyard (at least from the west and the east) discussed here has an additional external courtyard. Thick walls and massive stone collapses filling the rooms suggest that the building had at least two floors. The finds, represented mostly by ceramic vessels, are of domestic character.

Due to the limited area of the excavation as well as relatively few finds similar to each other, it was difficult to reconstruct the real nature of the excavated building.

Presumably, the large building separately standing on a hill, surrounded by valleys suitable for agriculture in a region rich in water sources could have functioned as an agricultural farm. In our opinion, the two courtyards, one internal and one external, as well as the prevalence of storage jars in the ceramic repertoire strengthen, this assumption.

Several farmhouses were surveyed and excavated not far to the south and to the east of the discussed building[29]. It seems that it was one of those farmsteads that belonged to the regional array of agricultural farms built close to the valleys rich in fertile soil[30].

The lifespan of the discussed farmhouse was relatively short. Proof of this is the ceramic ensemble dated from the middle of the 3rd until the end of the 2nd c. BCE as well as the almost complete absence of traces of repairs, alterations or additions in the internal space of the building.

24 Anderson-Stojanović 1987, 105–122.

25 Anderson-Stojanović 1987, 115.

26 Rotroff 1997, 137–140.

27 Tel Anafa: Berlin 1997, pl. 14; Akko: Berlin – Stone 2016, figs. 9.9, 6–7; 9.20, 7; 9.21, 9; 9.28, 2–4; Tel Dor: Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 375 fig. 6.26; Tel Michal: Fischer 1989, fig. 13.1, 11–12; Ramat Aviv: Kletter 2006, fig. 39, 11–12; Tirat Yehuda: Yeivin –Edelstein 1970, fig. 7, 16–17; Khirbet er-Rasm: Sandhaus 2011, 124–126 fig. 2.7, 5–8.

28 Gudovich 1998; Amit 1998; Amit –Zilberbod 1996; Zilberbod – Amit 2001a; Zilberbod – Amit 2001b; Zelinger 2001; Zelinger – Amit 2001; Zilberbod 2001; Taxel 2006; Kanias 2008.

29 Amit –Zilberbod 1998; Zilberbod – Amit 2001b; Zelinger 2001; Zelinger – Amit 2001.

30 Amit 1998, 92.

Catalogue

Small finds				
	No.	**Locus/Basket**	**Object**	**Description**
Fig. 8	1	35/283	Iron tool	L. 21 cm; Wt. 2.5 kg. The tool consists of two parts. The massive oval-shaped body cut on the one end, tapers to the joint with spoon-shaped second part on another end.
Pottery				
	No.	**Locus/Basket**	**Vessel type**	**Description**
Fig. 11	1	35/202 - 3	Bowl	Well levigated, light brown clay, orange slip outside and inside
	2	15/248 - 3	Bowl	Reddish-brown clay, gray core
	3	15/248 - 1	Bowl	Thick walls, brown clay
	4	35/298 - 1	Bowl	Reddish-brown clay, small white and black grits
	5	35/276 - 2	Bowl	Restored, reddish-brown clay, few small white grits, string cut base
	6	35/236 - 2	Bowl	Light brown clay, thick walls, simple rim
	7	15/248 - 4	Bowl	Light brown clay, black greets, reddish-painted outside
	8	15/272 - 1	Saucer	Restored, have a round deep impression in the center of the bottom. Reddish-brown clay, few big white grits
	9	35/276 - 5	Saucer	Light brown, reddish slip inside, one black painted line on the rim
	10	35/273 - 3	Saucer	Reddish-brown clay
	11	35/294 - 2	Saucer	Brown clay, many small white grits, poor black slip outside and inside
	12	15/112	Saucer	Thin walls, very light brown clay, many small black grits
	13	15/293	Krater	Brown, few small white grits
	14	35/276 - 7	Casserole	Brown-gray clay, few small white grits
	15	35/299 - 3	Cooking pot	Brown clay, many small white grits
	16	35/236 - 1	Lid	Reddish-brown clay, small white and black grits
Fig. 12	1	15/272 - 3	Jar	Brown clay, gray core
	2	15/248 - 9	Jar	Brow clay, few big white grits
	3	15/248 - 11	Jar	Light brown clay, few small white grits
	4	15/248 - 12	Jar	Light brown clay, traces of brown-painted outside
	5	35/276 - 10	Jar	Very light brown clay
	6	15/256 - 3	Jar	Greenish-yellow clay, few white grits
	7	15/256 - 1	Jar	Light brown clay
	8	35/276 - 1	Jar	Upper half, light brown clay, big white grits
	9	15/272 - 2	Jar	Brown clay
	10	15/248 - 13	Jar	Brown clay
	11	15/248 - 5	Jar	Brown clay, small white grits
	12	35/273 - 22	Jar	Light brown clay, few small white grits
	13	35/276 - 2	Jar	Restored, light brown clay, few big white grits
	14	35/276 - 12	Jar	Light brown clay, few big white grits

	No.	Locus/Basket	Vessel type	Description
Fig. 12	15	15/131 - 4	Jar	Brown clay, few small white grits
	16	15/248 - 8	Jar	Light brown clay, white and black grits
	17	15/256 - 10	Jar	Brown clay, big and small white grits
Fig. 13	1	15/131 - 3	Jug	Light brown clay, few small white grits
	2	15/131 - 2	Jug	Brown clay
	3	35/273 - 1	Unguentarium	Light brown clay, brown-painted outside
	4	35/282 - 1	Unguentarium	Complete, light brown clay
	5	37/183 - 10	Unguentarium	Light brown clay, brown painted outside

Bibliography

Anderson-Stojanović 1987 — V. R. Anderson-Stojanović, The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria, AJA 91, 1987, 105–122

Amit 1998 — D. Amit, Mazor - 1993, ESI 18, 1996, 58–61

Amit – Zilberbod 1998 — D. Amit – I. Zilberbod, Mazor – 1995, ESI 18, 1998, 96–99

Berlin 1997 — A. Berlin, Hellenistic and Roman Pottery. The Plain Wares, in: S. C. Herbert (ed.), Tel Anafa 2, 1, JRA Suppl. 10.2 (Ann Arbor, MI 1997) 1–244

Berlin – Stone 2016 — A. Berlin – P. J. Stone, The Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery, in: M. Hartal – D. Syon – E. Stern – A. Tatcher, 'Akko 2. The 1991–1998 Excavations. The Early Periods, IAAReports 60 (Jerusalem 2016) 133–202

Finkielsztejn 2006 — G. Finkielsztejn, Some Remarks on Amphora Productions and Trade in the Southern Levant: Territories and Ethnicity, in: D. Malfitana – J. Poblome – J. Lund (eds.), Old Pottery in a New Century. Innovating Perspectives on Roman Pottery Studies, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Catania, 22–24 Aprile 2004, Monografie dell'Istituto per i beni archeologici e monumentali (Catania 2006) 253–263

Fischer 1989 — M. Fischer, Hellenistic Pottery (Strata V–VIII), in: Z. Herzog – G. Rapp – O. Negbi, Excavations at Tel Michal, Israel, Tel Aviv University, Publications of the Institute of Archaeology 8 (Minneapolis, MN 1989) 177–187

Fischer – Tal 1999 — M. Fischer – O. Tal, The Hellenistic Period, in: I. Roll – O. Tal, Apollonia-Arsuf, Final Report of the Excavations 1. The Persian and Hellenistic Periods (With Appendices on the Chalcolithic and Iron Age II Remains), Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 16 (Jerusalem 1999) 223–260

Gitin 1990 — S. Gitin, Gezer 3. A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer (Jerusalem 1990)

Gorzalczany 1999 — A. Gorzalczany, Hellenistic-Period Remains at Ramat Aviv, Atiqot 8, 1999, 25*–32* (Hebrew with English Summary pp. 222–223)

Gudovich 1998 — S. Gudovich, Mazor – 1993, ESI 18, 1998, 57–58

Guz-Zilberstein 1995	B. Guz-Zilberstein, The Typology of the Hellenistic Coarse Ware and Selected Loci of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, in: E. Stern, Excavations at Dor. Final Report 1 B. Areas A and C: The Finds, Qedem Reports 2 (Jerusalem 1995) 289–433
Hudson 2016	N. Hudson, A Hellenistic Household Ceramic Assemblage from Tell el-Timai (Thmuis), Egypt: A Contextual View, BASOR 376, 2016, 199–244
Kanias 2008	T. Kanias, Mazor (East), HA-ESI 120 (http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=756&mag_id=114) (accessed 16.07.2019)
Kletter 2006	R. Kletter, A Middle Bronze Age II Site West of Tell Qasile, Atiqot 53, 2006, 65–128
Kochavi – Beit-Arieh 1994	M. Kochavi – I. Beit-Arieh, Map of Rosh Ha – 'Ain (78), Archaeological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem 1994)
Matskevich – Gilboa 2018	S. Matskevich – A. Gilboa, Quantitative Aspects of the Iron Age Pottery Assemblage, in: A. Gilboa – I. Sharon – J. R. Zorn – S. Matskevich, Excavations at Dor. Final Report 2 B. Area G. The Late Bronze and Iron Ages: Pottery, Artifacts, Ecofacts and Other Studies, Qedem Reports 11 (Jerusalem 2018) 173–192
Rotroff 1997	S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, Agora 29 (Princeton, NJ 1997)
Rotroff 2015	S. I. Rotroff, The Athenian Kitchen from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period, in: M. Spataro – A. Villing (eds.), Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture. The Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World (Oxford 2015) 180–189
Sandhaus 2011	D. Sandhaus, The Pottery from Khirbet er-Rasm. The Typology of the Pottery from the Hellenistic, Roman and Later Periods, in: A. Faust – A. Erlich (eds.), The Excavations of Khirbet er-Rasm, Israel, BARIntSer 2187 (Oxford 2011) 134–145
Sparkes 1962	B. A. Sparkes, The Greek Kitchen, JHS 82, 1962, 37–121
Sparkes – Talcott 1970	B. A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C., Agora 12 (Princeton, NJ 1970)
Stern 1995	E. Stern, Local Pottery of the Persian Period, in: E. Stern, Excavations at Dor. Final Report 1 B. Areas A and C: The Finds, Qedem Reports 2 (Jerusalem 1995), 51–92
Taxel 2006	I. Taxel, Mazor (El'ad), HA-ESI 118 (http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=440&mag_id=11) (accessed 16.07.2019)
Yeivin – Edelstein 1970	Z. Yeivin – G. Edelstein, Excavations at Tirat Yehuda, AtiqotHeb 6, 1970, 56–69 (Hebrew with English Summary, 6*)
Zelinger 2001	Y. Zelinger, Mazor (El'ad), Area H9, HA-ESI 113, 2001, 74–75
Zelinger – Amit 2001	Y. Zelinger – D. Amit, Mazor (El'ad), Sites 17a–c, 34a, 35a, 95a-e, K4, K5, HA-ESI 113, 2001, 79–83
Zilberbod 2001	I. Zilberbod, Mazor (El'ad), Site 64, HA-ESI 113, 2001, 83–84
Zilberbod – Amit 2001a	I. Zilberbod – D. Amit, Mazor (El'ad), Area H7 (A), HA-ESI 113, 2001, 63–66
Zilberbod – Amit 2001b	I. Zilberbod – D. Amit, Mazor (El'ad), Area F2, HA-ESI 113, 2001, 68–69

Cave 169 at Marisa: The Imported Ptolemaic Red Ware

Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom

Hellenistic Marisa[1], the Greek form of the Hebrew name Maresha mentioned several times in the Bible, is located in the Shephelah, the foothills of the Judean Mountains, 40 km to the south-west of Jerusalem. The Hellenistic city was inhabited by Greeks, Sidonians, indigenous Idumeans[2] until captured and completely destroyed by Hyrcanus I in 112/111 BCE or shortly thereafter[3]. Marisa comprises a substantial number of subterranean complexes[4], most filled with unstratified anthropogenic debris, representing either habitation material dumped from the surface or from collapsed dwellings[5]. To date, Subterranean Complex 169 (henceforth SC169, **figs. 1–2**) represents the most opulent assemblage of diverse objects of daily use and cultic material, tableware and utility pottery, oil lamps, terracotta figurines, incense altars, chalk phalli, amulets and jewellery, game boards, glass and faience objects, votive plaques, Aramaic divination texts, Greek ostraca, coins, seals and sealings, loom weights and whorls[6]. The bulk of ceramic finds, dating from the 3rd to the late 2nd cent. BCE, documents a well-to-do population, linked to existing Eastern Mediterranean trading networks.

The imported fine tableware, comprising Egyptian red- and black-gloss fabrics, Campana A Ware, Pergamene vessels, the Ivy Platter Group and Eastern Sigillata A Ware reached Marisa mainly during the 2nd cent. BCE at a time when Attic imports no longer played a central role[7]. A similar picture emerges from the ceramic imports at Alexandria[8]. Ptolemaic Red Ware (henceforth PRW) and Ptolemaic Black Ware (PBW) represent a category rarely recorded in archaeological excavations in the southern Levant. The SC169 assemblage

1 Tsafrir et al. 1994, 179–180 s.v. Marisa.

2 Stern 2012, 57 points out that the onomasticon based on theophoric names reflects a population of Idumeans, Phoenicians, Judeans, Nabateans and others.

3 For a historical outline and overview of the excavations see Kloner 2003, 1–30.

4 For an overview see Kloner – Zissu 2013.

5 Since 2000, many subterranean complexes have been explored under the direction of I. Stern and B. Alpert.

6 See the contributions by different scholars in Stern 2019, 11. 92. 105. 111. 131. 163. 208. 221.

7 Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019. Thanks to Andrea Berlin and Aaron Greener the ceramics have been uploaded to the LCP, see https://www.levantineceramics.org/sites/1624-maresha-marisa. The present paper entails the correction of some errors.

8 Élaigne 2012, 67–68; Élaigne.2013, 213.

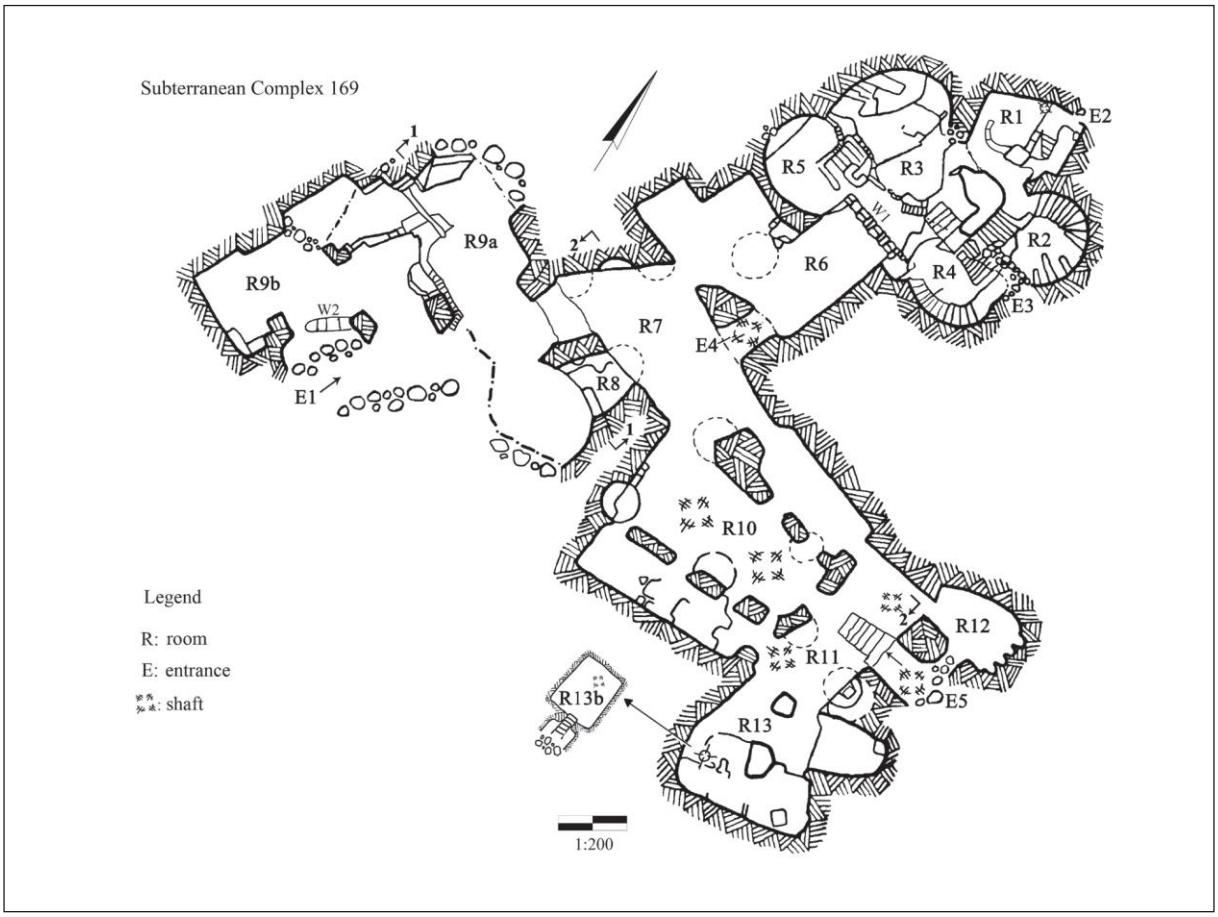


Fig. 1: Plan of SC169 (Stern 2019, 4 fig. 1.3; courtesy Ian Stern).

documents substantial imports of other black-gloss ceramics besides PBW and fewer imports of PRW and ESA. The much smaller quantity of the latter might be due to Maresha's conquest and abandonment at a time when these wares had not yet come to the fore in Idumea. The long-distance trade appears to be the result of connections between merchants in Italy, Attica, the Aegean and western Asia Minor, Cyprus[9], Egypt and Maresha. In the Levant, Egyptian pottery is rare, as only sporadic finds from coastal sites like Ashkelon[10], Akko-Ptolemais[11] and Beirut-Berytus[12] are recorded[13].

PRW is much more appealing to the eye than PBW. The Delta silt fabric / Delta Ware is generally micaceous; the paste is fired red or reddish-brown and gray in closed vessels; plates can have a gray core. Before firing a homogenous red slip[14] was applied to parts of the vessels,

9 Hayes 1991, 126–126; Hayes 2003, nos. 28. 39–40. 158; Ballet 2009; Lund 2015, 202–204. 206; Młynarczyk 2009, 210 fig. 20.1 bottom.

10 Johnson 2008, 99. 103 no. 317. See **no. 11**.

11 Berlin – Stone 2016, 149 fig. 9.25, 8.

12 Élaigne 2007, 110 fig. 8, PBW carinated bowl and two ring feet with rouletted decoration, produced in the Buto workshop, 3rd cent. BCE; 2013, 226.

13 See the map in Élaigne 2013, 227 fig. 13, where the major 2nd-cent. BCE production centres together with long-distance trade connections and regional distribution are indicated; amazingly, in this publication the southern Levant is a blind spot.

14 Scholars use also the term glaze. However, J. R. C. Gill pointed out that glaze is not an appropriate term, considering the technical process involved in achieving a shiny surface (Gill 2012, 16 note 7).

Fig. 2: Room 13 (Courtesy Ian Stern).

rarely in and out, which turned lustrous in firing. After the firing the vessels were polished or burnished, creating striation / strips / bands. The highly polished brilliant surfaces can also have a few burnished bands. All PRW vessels imported to Maresha include very fine flecks of mica, and it is most likely that they were produced in Delta workshops. However, without visual examination by a fabric specialist (which I am not) and without petrographic analyses there can be no attribution to specific workshops. Hence, references[15] generally refer to red-slipped parallels, with different fabrics noted.

To date, there are several basic studies on pottery production in Ptolemaic Egypt, focusing on aspects such as the imitations of Greek Hellenistic ceramics and the interdependence between Greek and local Egyptian pottery[16]. In contexts at Egyptian sites, PBW occurs consistently with imported black-glazed ware; it could be considered a cheap imitation of the Greek high-quality tableware, and some warped vessels indicate that high-quality production was not intended[17].

The PRW repertoire in SC169 comprises tableware, some twenty-one plates and bowls/saucers of forms widespread and prevalent in the Mediterranean world, namely the rolled-rim plate, the carinated bowl with outturned rim and the echinus bowl (**nos. 1–4**). These forms are predominant in the Egyptian workshops both in PBW and PRW[18]. In addition, the SC169

15 To provide a full comparanda list is not the target.

16 Gill 2016, 46. For recent publications see Élaigne 2000; Élaigne 2002; Élaigne 2012; Élaigne 2013; Ballet 2001; Ballet 2002; Harlaut 2002; Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012; Gill 2012; David 2016; Harlaut – Hayes 2018.

17 Gill 2012, 16.

18 Charlesworth 1967, 151; Élaigne 2012, 199; Harlaut 2018, 111.

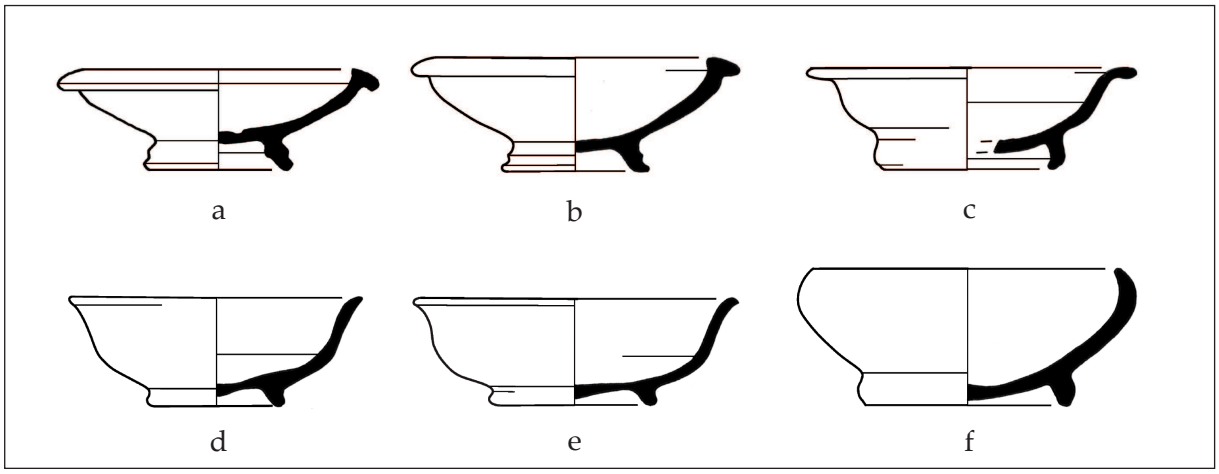


Fig. 3: PBW. a–f. Projecting rim saucers; d–e. Bowls with outturned rim and carinated wall; f. Echinus bowl (Drawings Yulia Rudman; M 1 : 3)

repertoire includes about half the number of small vessels for pouring and dipping (**nos. 5–13**), and cookware, chytrai and lids (**nos. 14–17**). With regard to the proportion between open and closed vessels Alexandrian assemblages present a similar picture, one-hundred-four open vessels against forty-five closed vessels[19]. In SC169 it is not the quantity but the variety of vessels which is striking. Many of the vessels could be restored, suggesting that they had been discarded still intact or after having been broken intentionally. With a restricted number of vessels retrieved it cannot be ruled out that they were used at a one-time occasion. Taking into consideration the contextual evidence pointing to a cultic / ritual function of several find categories from SC169, deposited in proximity to a shrine / temple in nearby Area 800, the Egyptian ceramics as well as the other imported tableware are plausibly connected with special or festive occasions like symposia. It is suggested here tentatively that in the two cooking pots with their fitting lids food was prepared and also brought to the table, taking the place of kraters, then consumed in the open dishes, while the contents of the small closed vessels, containing oils, sauces, seasonings and relish, added flavour. The more numerous saucers and bowls in PBW were also part of dining sets[20], either representing an earlier phase of activities or contemporaneous with the PRW vessels. It is noticeable that the open dishes in both PRW and PBW are relatively small, and with none of them exceeding a diameter of 20 cm small portions appear to have been consumed (**fig. 3**).

The Hellenistic manufacture of PBW and PRW is the result of Egyptian potters introducing morphological and technical innovations by following models or prototypes of Attic and Italian black glaze vessels in a first production phase and eastern red glaze vessels in a second phase[21]. Production centres have been identified in the Delta region at Alexandria, Tel el-Fara'in-Buto, Kom Dahab[22], Tell Atrib-Athribis, and at Tebtynis in the Fayum. For contextualizing the PRW from SC169, relevant assemblages of the 3rd–2nd cent. BCE from Alexandria, Naukratis, Athribis and Tebtynis were consulted.

For Alexandria the recent publication by C. Harlaut and J. W. Hayes provides a corpus of dated contexts, and motivated by this publication, I decided to look again at the PRW

19 Harlaut 2018, 62 Table B.2. The author speaks of open vessels for drinking and serving food, yet the numerically dominant echinus bowls in the SC169 assemblage are not suited for drinking because of the incurved rims.

20 See Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019, 52 fig. 3.4, 1–14.

21 Ballet 2003, 234. 243; Élaigne 2012, 65–66. 181.

22 The Kom Dahab potters most likely supplied the inhabitants of nearby Naukratis with their products, Berlin 2001, 45.

assemblage in SC169. The early Hellenistic phase features Attic imports, followed by Phase 2, ca. 300–270/260 BCE, with deposits C–G. The 2nd century is represented by the four ceramic phases H–K, extending perhaps no later than 125 BCE, possibly until the end of the century[23]. The workshops at Athribis produced a great variety of PBW and PRW and other vessels and a rich output of figured vessels and figurines. Two strata are relevant: 1) early Ptolemaic, including the reign of Ptolemy V (205–180 BCE); 2) mid-Ptolemaic, the reign of Ptolemy VI (180–145 BCE) and the second half of the 2nd cent. BCE[24]. In the fills of a Ptolemaic villa, probably built around the mid-3rd cent. and used at least until the beginning of the 1st cent. BCE, when destroyed by fire, more than fifty tableware vessels of Egyptian manufacture were retrieved[25]. At Tebtynis in the Fayum, dark gray-brown/black fabric is attested from the first half of the 3rd cent. BCE onward, copying Greek prototypes[26], and the local production in several red fabrics with or without mica inclusions[27] adheres to Eastern Sigillata A[28]. Naukratis (Kom Dahab) provides an early 3rd cent. date for the production begin of echinus bowls and a late 3rd cent. for the rolled-rim plate (thickened rim saucer) in the red-sipped Delta silt fabric[29].

The chronological spread of the period of manufacture in Egypt underlines the difficulty in setting a close date for the Maresha imports. However, a post-mid-2nd cent. date is most likely, based on evidence from the Alexandrian chora. C. Harlaut documented that the relatively short Phase 2 ended with a reorganization of workshops and production, and with a sort overlap was replaced by Phase 2 in the mid-3nd cent. when two fabrics, calcitic and alluvial, became conical for the region of Alexandria[30]. The alluvial fabric tallies with Élaigne's Egyptian Group Alluvial 1[31]. However, the external evidence still leaves a potential time span of a century and a half for the Maresha assemblage.

Historical sources, architectural structures and economic activities document intensive contacts between Egypt and Idumea. Maresha was under Ptolemaic rule until the battle of Paneas in 198 BCE. At Memphis, Idumeans served as members of a military detachment, machairophoroi, in the late 2nd cent. BCE[32]. Yet the time of their arrival and the reason for their migration are disputed, and of the two possibilities, as prisoners of war under Ptolemy I Soter, following his Syrian campaigns in the late fourth cent. or as refugees in the wake of the Hasmonean activities in Idumea between 114 and 107 BCE; the latter date is now considered plausible[33]. The Hellenistic cave burials and their painted decorations display Alexandrine influence, in particular the early 3rd cent. Tomb A at Shatby[34]. In the Zenon papyri, dated 259–257 BCE, commercial activities between Egypt, the Levantine coastal cities and Marisa are recorded[35]. It is suggested that the construction of columbaria for raising pigeons and producing meat and fertilizers for agriculture was introduced from Egypt to Maresha and Judea in the

23 Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 163.

24 Myśliwiec – Abu Senna 1995, 206; Myśliwiec 2009, 33. 41–59.

25 Myśliwiec 1988, 192. 196.

26 Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 12, fabric F IV.

27 Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 11–13, fabrics F I, II; F V, VI, the last two fabrics can be micaceous. Striation marks are common on F I and lacking on F VI.

28 Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 10.

29 Berlin 2001, 28 Table 2.1.

30 Harlaut 2018, 109.

31 Élaigne 2012, 202.

32 Thompson 1988, 86. 99–103; Honigman 2003, 66. 86

33 Honigman 2003, 66 note 22.

34 Erlich 2009, 61–62. 80.

35 Abd al-Ghani 1995, 19; Kloner 2003, 5. In PCairZen 59015 Marisa in Idumea is mentioned in connection with slave trade, see the translation in Muir 2009, 65–66.

early Hellenistic period[36]. Dating from the 3rd and 2nd cent. BCE some 85 columbaria have been identified so far, together with 27 oil presses in the subterranean complexes[37]. The export of olive oil to Egypt was a branch of Maresha's economy[38]. Such ties entailed mutual trading networks, and Egyptian merchants most likely settled in the city. It is tempting to ascribe the imports of PRW and PBW to Egyptian dwellers, yet there is no contextual evidence. The same question is posed with regard to PBW in Egypt – was the ware produced for and acquired by the local Greek population or by Hellenized Egyptians[39], or by both?

To sum: The SC169 assemblage with a wealth of imported ceramics, not paralleled in other subterranean complexes, documents that the residents of Maresha were living comfortably enough to participate in long-distance trade networks in order to acquire and use outstanding tableware when compared to the local output, the standard of which was set by Athenian manufacturers and taken over by various Mediterranean producers. Located on the periphery of the Classical realm the Maresha community was able to import diverse and qualitative vessels for serving food and for individual drinking and eating, participating in the Hellenistic ceramic koine. However, in view of the ethnic (and religious) diversity of the population it is at present impossible to attribute specific imported ceramics to a specific ethnic group or groups.

In her introduction to »Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World« A. Tsingarida addresses the issue of exporting fine ware, considering the economic role versus the cultural value and the reason for demand and supply related to social practice in a defined area[40]. Primarily, research should focus on the interpretation of the contextual evidence derived from local assemblages. The incentive to acquire foreign ceramics, in particular fine tableware and lamps, is motivated by sociological, cultural, even ideological and religious as well as economic and functional considerations – with the exception of containers with certain commodities like wine, oil, fish-sauce, perfumed oils, medicines and ointments. Hence, while the view expressed by S. Élaigne that the large-scale distribution of standardized ceramics such as Eastern Sigillata A or Campanian A[41] points to economic interests rather than a cultural impulse is adequate for a general picture of the Hellenistic koine, differentiation is required for every excavated find complex.

36 Zissu 1995, 65.

37 Kloner – Zissu 2013, 52–53.

38 Kloner – Sagiv 2003, 71. In one of the Zenon papyri the customs duty on olive oil is mentioned in a consignment of goods from Syria through the Customs House of Pelusium on their way to Alexandria and a charge on imported oil in another document, see Abd el-Ghani 1995, 17. 20 notes 65 and 69.

39 Gill 2012, 19.

40 Tsingarida 2013, 116–117.

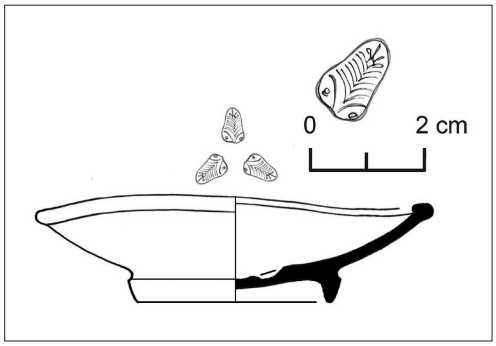
41 Élaigne 2013, 219–220.

Catalogue

(Drawings Yulia Rudman, photos Gabi Laron)

All drawings are reproduced in a scale of 1 : 3. The dimensions in the catalogue are given in cm.

1. Plate with rolled rim



D. 17.5; base D. 8.5.

The complete plate was restored from seven fragments. Patchy lustrous slip. Warping is noticeable on the rim. At centre of plate three impressed palmettes.

The shape of the plate, prevalent in both PRW and PBW[42], is most likely a derivation of the Attic rolled rim plate[43]. The rims vary: rolled, thickened or flattened rims. The vessels attributed to the earliest local production are present in contexts dated to the first third of the 3rd cent. BCE[44].

Alexandria: Lamarche 2002, 170 pl. 5, 22; 176 pl. 11, 52; 177 pl. 12, 59–60; 185 pl. 20, 97 (all complete plates); Élaigne 2012, 419–420 figs. 64–65 with some examples; Élaigne 2013, 225 fig. 11, 4503-12. 10123-8. 10101-21; Harlaut 2018, 141 fig. 21, 122–123, thickened rim plate (first third of 3rd cent. BCE); Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 243 pl. 7, D'3; 263 pl. 27, H13–14 (about 200–180 BCE); 252 pl. 16, E'5, ring foot and wall with close palmettes, two out of three preserved (about 250, or 250–230 BCE?); 279 pl. 43, J9–10; 291 pl. 55, J'4 (around 160 BCE); *Tel Fara'in-Buto*: Ballet 2003, 239 fig. 12, 1; *Naukratis*: Berlin 2001, 51 fig. 2.1, 20–23, thickened rim saucer (Fabric IA)[45]; *Kom Dahab*: Coulson – Wilkie 1986, 71. 72 fig. 18, E11.101.29, rolled rim plate with thin red slip. It was the was common shape in the debris inside the kiln, some plates warped in firing. *Athribis*: Myśliwiec 1988, 193 fig. 4c (= Ballet 2001, 135 fig. 9); 194 fig. 5 (= Myśliwiec 2009, 38 figs. 23. 25), well fired clay to a brown, sometimes red colour, inner surface usually »has a layer of burnished self-slip which sometimes appears as concentric stripes of various width«, plates with rolled rim are more frequent than others, from the Ptolemaic villa dated ca. 250–150 BCE. For fragmentary bowls/plates with four stamped palmettes around a fine groove/circle see Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 251 pl. 15, E6; 257 pl. 21, G13.

At Maresha warping is found also on locally produced vessels, for example a plate in SC70 and an echinus bowl, two saucers or lids, a plate and a fish plate in SC90[46]. These vessels attest to domestic use, a large locally produced plate with warping from a burial cave in the

42 Harlaut 2018, 79.

43 Rotroff 1997, 142–145.

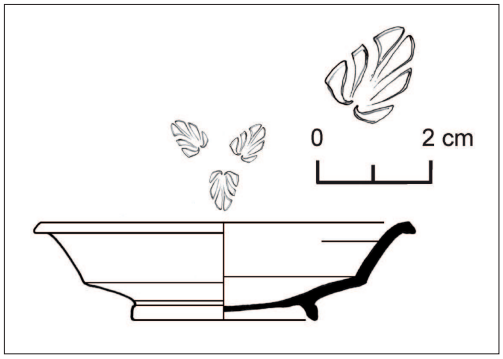
44 Harlaut 2018, 61, Phase 2.

45 The reference in Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019, 55 is to be modified. At Naukratis the slipped PRW version is defined ›Field Fabric IA‹ (Leonhard 2001, 222): for unslipped vessels see Berlin 2001, fig. 2.1, 1–19; Leonhard 2001, 221–222 ›Field Fabric I‹, plain red ware, in which micaceous inclusions are quite frequent. For the Kom Dahab kiln products see Coulson – Wilkie 1986, 70, vessels fired to various shades of red, with red or white slips and occasional light burnishing.

46 Levine 2003a, 81 fig. 6.2, 27; Stern – Osband 2015, 188 fig. 2.3, 4. 6–8. 10; fig. 2.4, 6. See also 183. 202 fig. 2.12, 4. 6–7 for dishes with warping from L103, a small chamber with 112 vessels dispersed on a shelf and on the floor.

vicinity of Maresha is among the grave goods[47]. At Nea Paphos a locally produced large plate has a warped rim[48]. These finds document that warped vessels were not discarded, but still considered adequate for daily use and export.

2. Bowl with outturned rim and carinated wall



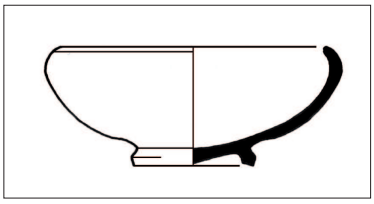
D. 16.5; base D. 8.

Half of the bowl was preserved. At centre of bowl three stamped palmettes. Five more bowls were found.

In the Alexandrine production carinated bowls are less common than echinus bowls[49].

Alexandria: Élaigne 2012, 419–420 figs. 64–65 (some examples); Élaigne 2013, 225 fig. 11, 11045-1. 11012-4; Harlaut 2018, 138 fig. 18, 105 (PBW; first third of 3rd cent. BCE); Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 279 pl. 43, J11; 280 pl. 44, J13, banded variant of PRW (around 160 BCE); *Naukratis:* Berlin 2001, 69 fig. 2.10, 1. 5–16 (Fabric IA); *Tebtynis*: Ballet –Południkiewicz 2012, 45–46 nos. 101–108. 246 pl. 8 (the ›classic‹ group, red and black fabrics in contexts dating to the 3rd and 2nd cent. BCE); 47 nos. 110–117. 247 pl. 9 (variants, in contexts dates 2nd cent. BCE to the 1st cent. CE); *Athribis*: Myśliwiec 1988, 187 fig. 3b = Myśliwiec 2009, 40 figs. 26–27, local, find-spot and fabric like rolled rim plates (see **no. 1**). For fragmentary bowls/plates with four stamped palmettes around a fine groove/circle see Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 251 pl. 15, E6; 257 pl. 21, G13.

3. Echinus bowl



D. 12.5; base D. 5.2.

On exterior close to rim banded slip. Ten more of the medium-sized bowls with diameters ranging from 10 to 13 cm.

At Alexandria echinus bowls represent the most popular form in both PRW and PBW in the local production[50].

Alexandria: Lamarche 2002, 167 pl. 2, 7–8; 171 pl. 6, 26; 175 pl. 10, 49; 182 pl. 17, 82–84; Élaigne 2012, 419 fig. 64 (some examples); Élaigne 2013, 225 fig. 11, 4469-86. 11077-1; Harlaut 2018, 141 fig. 21, 118–119 (first third of 3rd cent. BCE); Harlaut –Hayes 2018, 271 pl. 35, H'14–15 (first half of 2nd cent. BCE); *Tel Fara'in-Buto*: Charlesworth 1967, 153 fig. 2, 1; Ballet 2003, 239 fig. 12, 6; *Naukratis*: Berlin 2001, 61 fig. 2.6 (Fabric I). 63 fig. 2.7 (Fabric IA); *Kom Dahab*: Coulson – Wilkie 1986, 71. 72 fig. 18, E11.101.4; *Athribis*: Myśliwiec 2009, pl. 16, 2–3 both left.

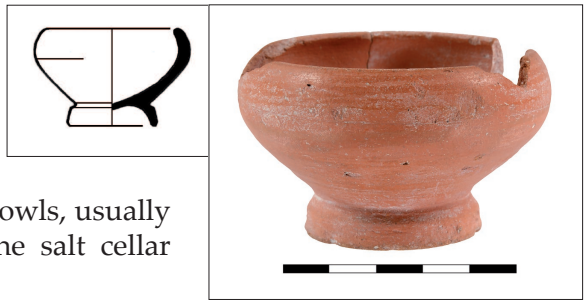
47 Kloner et al. 1992, 34* fig. 11, 6. The burial cave in the Judean Shephelah is situated 6 km east of Maresha.

48 Hayes 2003, 475 no. 151.

49 Harlaut 2018, 72. See note 193, in the contexts of Deposit C on Nelson Island there were 42 echinus bowls compared to 7 carinated bowls.

50 Harlaut 2018, 71.

4. Echinus bowl

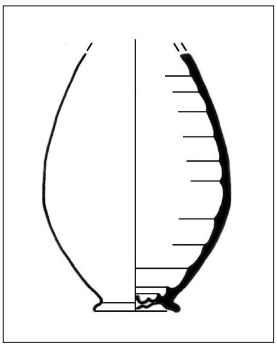


D. 6; base D. 4.4.

Three joining fragments. Small module with high ring foot. Two more bowls with a diameter of 5 to 6 cm were found.

In the Athenian Agora the small echinus bowls, usually with a diameter of 7–8 cm, are included in the salt cellar category[51].

5. Olpe[52]



P. H. 11.5; base D. 3.7.

Twelve joining and some non-joining fragments. Rim and handle missing. Wheel-ridging on interior.

Alexandria: Lamarche 2002, pl. 21, 105; Ballet 2009, 168 figs. 17.19–17.20, H. 14 cm; *Athribis*: Myśliwiec 2009, pl. 17, 6 right, locally produced, 2nd cent. BCE (p. 71). The complete vessel documents that the handle starts below the flaring rim; *Tebtynis*: Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 111 no. 463, pl. 52, only upper half preserved, everted rim, end of 2nd cent. BCE; 112 no. 468. 290 pl. 52, H. 13, slightly everted rim, upper body section burnished, end of the 3rd cent. BCE. Both vessels are local (fabric F VII, pp. 7. 13).

The Egyptian vessels comprise two variants, the first with a ring foot and a more globular body like no. 5, the second with a flat base and a body gently flaring upward (compare the two olpai of equal size and hence with the same capacity from Alexandria in Ballet 2009, figs. 17.19–17.20)[53]. Comparing trends in the ceramic production between Alexandria and Cyprus, P. Ballet emphasizes the uniformity of olpai produced in Alexandria with locally produced vessels from Nea Paphos. In his opinion they document the adherence of Alexandrine potters to the Hellenistic ceramic koine on the one hand and the morphological and technical conformity with products of eastern Mediterranean workshops on the other hand[54]. The Cypriot vessels have flat bases[55] and are of poorer quality. It was the flat base which lead me to have a look at the so-called Maresha juglets. Prevalent in the subterranean complexes, they are local products and uncommon at other sites in the southern Levant[56]. Their distinct feature is the disk base, and there are several shape variants, one recalling in form and size the imported PRW juglet from SC169. With an estimated height of ca. 13 cm and a maximum body width of 8 cm it tallies with two complete Maresha vessels with a height of 13.7 and 13.4 cm and a width of 7.9 and 7.7 cm[57]. Additional juglets are recorded in nearly every subterranean complex, mostly

51 Rotroff 1997, 167 nos. 1075–1089.

52 In the final report, the vessels nos. 5–6 have been erroneously classified a jug, Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019, 55.

53 In the Athenian Agora, the olpai are 15–16 cm high and have a high strap handle, see Rotroff 1997, 128–129, fig. 37, 502–504.

54 Ballet 2009, 168. 173.

55 Ballet 2009, 169 figs. 17.22–17.24.

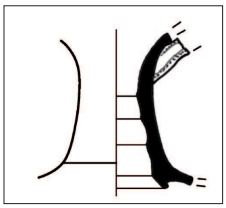
56 Kloner 1994; Levine 2003a, 110–112. 111 fig. 6.13, 133–138; Levine 2003b, 133; Regev 2003, 170 Form 37.

57 Levine 2003a, 111 fig. 6.13, 136–137.

with string-cut bases, a distinct local feature[58]. The clays are fired reddish and reddish-brown, and a red slip can be applied to the upper exterior part of the body or to most of the exterior surface[59].

It is tentatively suggested here that the Maresha juglets served as functional equivalents to the better quality PRW juglets and that their fabrication is the result of merging Egyptian inspiration with local ceramic craftsmanship. In particular, it is the Egyptian shape which is imitated, while the flat disk base is a local tradition. The surface treatment with a red slip on a number of vessels is not necessarily due to Egyptian influence, as it is a prevalent feature of the local tableware. A. Kloner, followed by T. Levine, suggests that the juglets were used in drawing liquids from the collecting vats of oil presses at Maresha[60]. Yet, there is no unequivocal evidence for this interpretation, and the varied find categories from SC169 point to their function »on festive occasions or possibly in ritual contexts such as symposia«[61] as vessels for pouring and dipping.

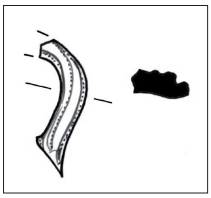
6. Olpe



Different form. Neck fragment with top of strap handle. Several non-joining body fragments. The rim missing; the high, narrow neck probably had a flaring mouth. The handle starts below the rim. Wheel-ridging on interior.

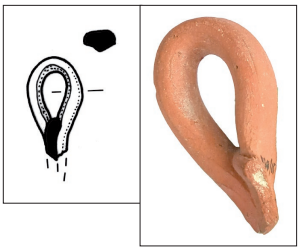
Tebtynis: Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 111 no. 464. 290 pl. 52, for close shape, fabric and date unknown.

7. Handle[62]



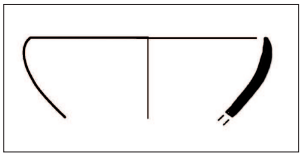
Triple-grooved handle, not slipped. The size points to a juglet handle, yet no parallels were found.

8. Kyathos, handle



Loop-handle, not slipped.

9. Kyathos (?)



D. 10.

Cup, not slipped.

58 Some additional examples: Kloner – Hess 1985, 131 fig. 3, 8–9. 11–12 (SC21); Stern – Osband 2015, 198 fig. 2.9, 10 (SC90); Stern et al. 2016, 45 fig. 4, 18 (SC147); Stern 2019, 30–32. 31 fig. 2.8, 36–37 (SC169).

59 Levine 2003a, 111 fig. 6.13, 138; Stern 2019, 31 fig. 2.8, 37. Parallels from other sites include Stager 1991, 37 top row left (from Ashkelon); Guz-Zilberstein 1995, 307. 377 fig. 6.28, 1–3 (from Dora).

60 Kloner 1994, 270; Levine 2003a, 110. For a discussion of the Maresha oil presses see Kloner – Sagiv 1993 and for the oil press in SC44, see Kloner – Sagiv 2003, 69–71.

61 Stern 2019, 405.

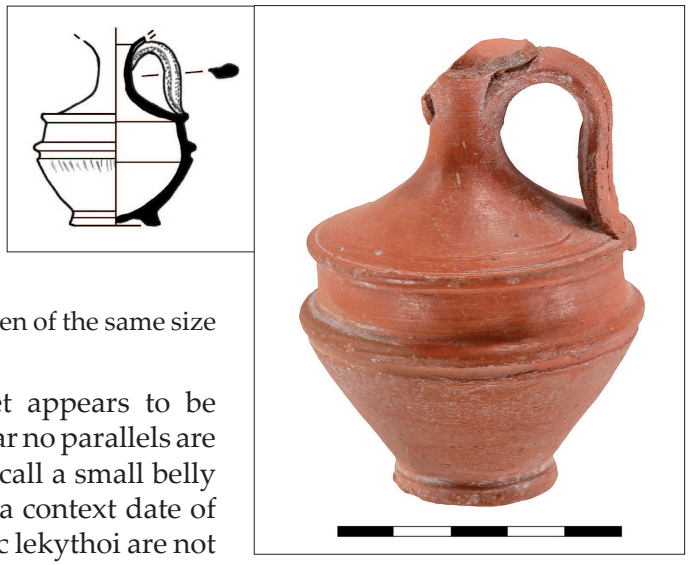
62 In the final report the handle has been attributed to olpe no. 6, which is unlikely in view of its shape, Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019, 54 fig. 3.5. 6.

Nos. 8–9 are identified as loop-handled dippers, their forms with different profiles varying from site to site. At Nea Paphos, two unslipped kyathoi in orange fabric were recorded, the first with pottery finds predominantly of the early 1st cent. BCE, the second from Well 11 with an estimated date to the mid-2nd cent. BCE or slightly later, ca. 150–140/30[63]. In the excavations at the hill of Agios Georgios, Nicosia the suggested date range for the kyathoi is from the early 3rd through the mid-2nd cent. BCE[64]. In the Athenian production they are fairly common in the 2nd cent. BCE, while rarely attested elsewhere. All specimens are glazed. The cups are 3–5 cm high[65]. Similar loop-handles occur on small globular juglets at Tebtynis[66].

10. Juglet (lekythos?)

P. H. 8; max. W. 7.

Lustrous slip on neck, shoulder and between ridges. Globular body with two external ridges on the upper body; the greatest width at mid-height. Wide low ring foot and narrow neck with flaring mouth, the rim missing. Grooved strap handle. The handle of a second specimen of the same size came to light.



This tiny, elegantly shaped juglet appears to be unique, for the external ridges in particular no parallels are known to me. Size and globular body recall a small belly lekythos from the Athenian Agora with a context date of 100–86 BCE[67]. Rotroff points out that Attic lekythoi are not glazed inside, indicating that the oil was not expected to remain in them for a long time, which tallies with their function during dining. Lekythoi with globular body from workshops in Alexandria and Buto are 12 cm high[68]. At Tebtynis several larger lekythoi with globular body lack neck and rim, dated from the end of the 2nd cent. BCE to the 2nd cent. CE (ca. 14–15 cm high)[69].

63 Hayes 1991, 122 no. 5. 159 no. 46.

64 Berlin – Pilacinski 2003, 219–220 fig. 6, 100–101; see p. 201 for the date.

65 Rotroff 1997, 133–134 nos. 556–568.

66 Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 132 nos. 580–581. 298 pl. 60.

67 Rotroff 1997, 351 no. 1124. The vessel is slightly larger, H. 12.3; est. D. 10.7.

68 Lamarche 2002, 168 fig. 3, 13 (the height estimated); Ballet 2003, 240 fig. 13, 4.

69 Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 114–115 nos. 479–484. 291 pl. 53.

11. Aryballos

H. 8; max. W. 10.5.

Globular squat body with wide low disk base. Low narrow neck with cup-shaped, saucer-like mouth with tiny hole at centre. Strap handle. Inside the vessel is an item that rattles when the vessel is jolted, yet impossible to identify through the tiny opening. A small terracotta ball was identified inside some of the aryballoi and askoi found at Athribis, its function considered to control the flow of oil from the vessel[70]. The distinct feature of the aryballoi from Maresha and of their parallels is the tiny hole at the top, recalling the locally produced titros / klepsydra from SC169, a specific vessel type for drawing liquids[71].

12. Aryballos, neck and handle

Fragment of a second vessel. The top of a third was recovered.

Alexandria: Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 285 pl. 49, J34, »filter-vase«, upper part with grooved handle (around 160 BCE); *Athribis*: Południkiewicz 1992, 98 fig. 5; Myśliwiec – Bakr Said 1999, 195 fig. 12a. 204; Ballet 2001, 135 fig. 12; Wodzińska 2010, 40 ›Ptolemaic 38‹ (all illustrate the same vessel). Altogether, several vessels are recorded, covered with a polished self-slip imitating a lustrous glaze, their context date is the 2nd cent. BCE; *Tebtynis*: Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 114 nos. 476–477. 291 pl. 53, vessel no. 476 is dated to the end of the 3rd cent. BCE, no. 477 might have been produced in a Tell el-Fara'in-Buto workshop; *Ashkelon*: Johnson 2008, 99. 103 no. 317. The single specimen identified in the southern Levant is attributed by visual examination to Nile Delta clay.

At Athribis aryballoi and askoi[72] are considered oil vessels, which together with lagynoi came to light in a deposit with fragments of burnt plastered bricks and painted wall plaster from a bath complex, constructed in the mid–2nd cent. in the reign of Ptolemy VI (180–145 BCE) in parts of the artisan quarter. It is suggested that the specific vessels might be related to lagynophoria or other ceremonies connected to the cult of Dionysos, which may have taken place in the public bath complex[73].

In the Athenian Agora publication, aryballoi were considered vessels for storing and pouring oil[74], while in the Tebtynis report, a use for precious liquids like unguents and perfumes is assumed[75].

70 Myśliwiec – Bakr Said 1999, 204.

71 Stern 2019, 32 and fig. 2.8, 41–43 on p. 31.

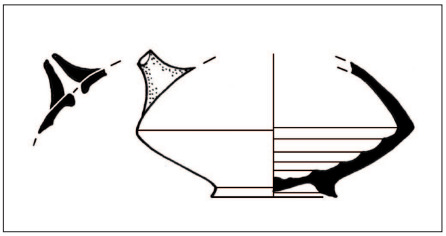
72 Myśliwiec – Bakr Said 1999, 195 fig. 12b–c.

73 Myśliwiec – Bakr Said 1999, 190. 204.

74 Rotroff 1997, 171.

75 Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 114.

13. Guttus



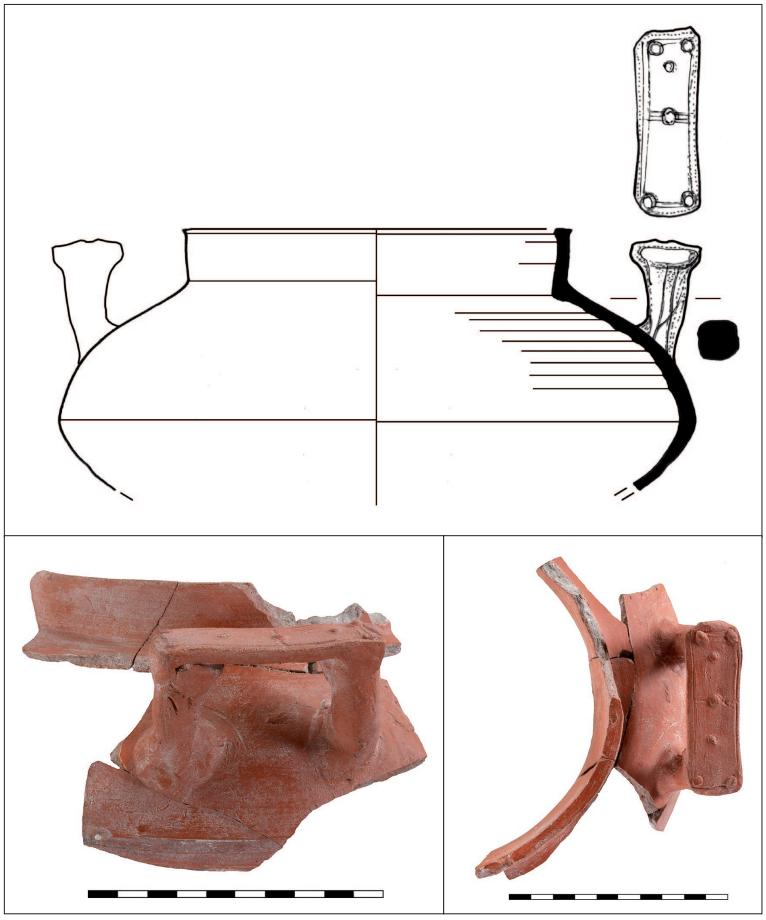
P. H. 6.5; max. W. 12.

Two non-joining fragments. Biconical body and wide ring foot. Spout. Wheel-ridging on interior below carination.

This interesting vessel combines the body shape of a guttus and the spout of a filter jug or feeder. Analogy to Athenian prototypes indicates that the specimen had a high, narrow neck with a flaring mouth[76].

14. Chytra with high neck, flanged rim, and broad ledge handles[77]

P. H. 11.5; rim D. 17;
max. W. 28.



Restored from several fragments. The even and smooth red slip is shiny. The vertical high neck has a rim with a slim inner and outer flange. Two high and broad rectangular handles, flat on top and decorated with raised circles, are placed transversely on the shoulder. The capacious bi-convex body has its maximum width at half-height, marked by a carination. Wheel-ridging on interior upper wall. Soot on bottom below carination. Rim and neck fragments of a second pot were retrieved.

The fabric leaves no doubt about the Egyptian manufacture of the singular vessel, yet no exact parallels are known to me for the form with a bi-convex body, divided by the carination into two equal or nearly equal halves. Close parallels comprise fragmentary pots with the upper parts preserved.

Alexandria: Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 295 pl. 59, K16, near-vertical neck, stump of a transverse (?) handle visible on shoulder (130–120 BCE); *Naukratis*: Berlin 2001, 33. 85 fig. 2.18, 1–4 (Fabric IA). 10–22 (Fabric IA), both Delta silt red fabric with slip. Of the »tall ledge rim cooking pots« only the upper third or the necks are preserved, the handles are vertical strap handles. Wasters from Kom Dahab indicate local production; the surface treatment

76 Rotroff 1997, 172–174, resembling nos. 1148. 1150, with squat body.

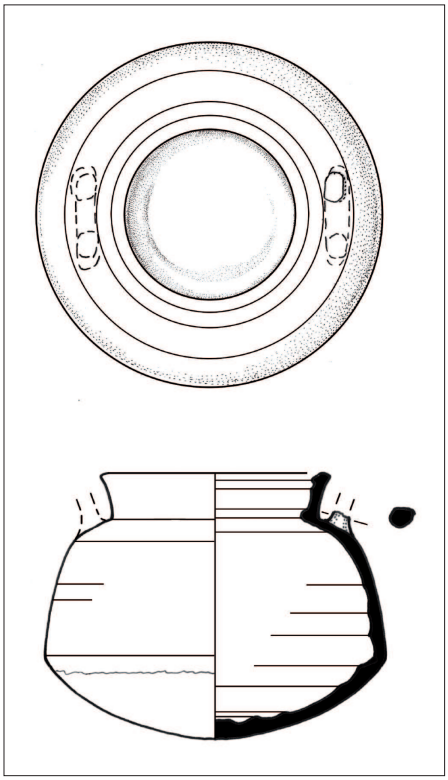
77 In the final report the vessel has erroneously been classified as angled-rim cooking pot, Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019, 56. 57 fig. 3.6, 1.

includes thin red slips and occasional burnishing[78]; *Tebtynis*: Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 142 no. 626; 302 pl. 64 (Fabric VIII. 2, p. 14), context date from the end of the 2nd to the early or mid-1st cent. BCE. The vessel termed »jarre-marmite« has the same neck as **no. 14**, though the preserved upper half of the cooking pot suggests a globular body. The authors point out that the type was used primarily for storage, though the occasional soot suggests the boiling of food or liquids (p. 141). The characteristic feature of the fabric is the relatively dense orange-reddish-brown shiny slip, the surface burnished and banded. For cooking pots with transverse handles see Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 77 nos. 257–260. 261 pl. 23, the neck and upper shoulder profiles close to **no. 14**.

15. Small angled-rim chytra

H. 12; rim D. 10; max. W. 15.

Complete except for damage on rim and two missing handles (preserved is the stump of one and the imprint of the other). The pot has a slightly everted high neck, constricted at the junction of neck and shoulder and an interior flange. The rim is angled on the outer and inner edge. The two missing handles were transverse handles with round section. The wall carination is set at the lower third of the body. There is wheel-ridging on the exterior and interior.



The common Egyptian angled-rim cooking pots are specifically Hellenistic, with the earliest parallels from the 3rd cent. BCE in Coptos[79]. *Alexandria*: Harlaut 2002, 268 fig. 5e (2nd cent. BCE); Harlaut – Hayes 2018, 251 pl. 15, E7 (about 250 BCE); 254 pl. 18, F6, no real slip (third quarter of 3rd cent. BCE); 273, pl. 37, H'33–34 (first half of 2nd cent. BCE); *Naukratis*: Berlin 2001, 81 fig. 2.16, 1–8. None are complete, all are made of Delta silt and mostly slipped (Fabric IA); *Athribis*: Myśliwiec 1996, 14 and pl. 10, 1, H. 14 cm. The complete pot with two transverse handles from, dated to the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd cent. BCE, is defined as imitation ceramics of the Hellenistic koine; *Tebtynis*: Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 76 no. 250. 261 pl. 23, complete vessel of close shape, though with vertical handles, with a suggested date from the mid-1st cent. BCE onward. The authors note that the paste texture of the globular cooking pots is quite fine, covered with a pink slip.

Egyptian cookware was imported to Nea Paphos, where it came to light in the theatre and in the Tombs of the Kings[80], find-spots which do not provide contextual evidence for its use.

The small squat angular cooking pots with vertical handle(s), produced locally at Maresha, is a near form to **no. 15**[81]. The pots occur in SC90, with nine specimens identified,

78 Coulson – Wilkie 1986, 73 and fig. 18, E11.12.9 on p. 72. The authors mention cooking pots with transverse handles, yet none are illustrated.

79 Berlin 2001, 32–33.

80 Ballet 2009, 172.

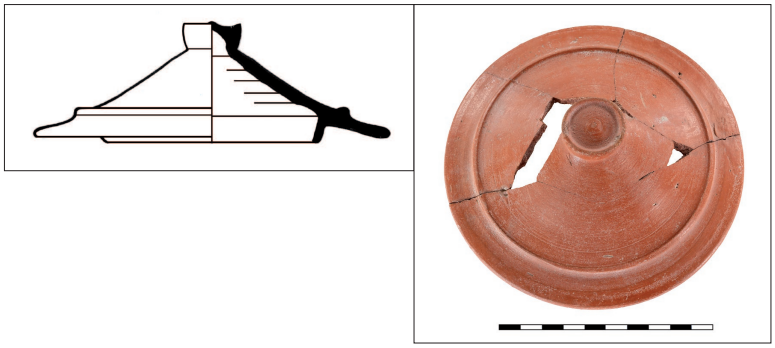
81 Levine 2003a, 94–95. 93 fig. 6.6, 72–76. No. 72 has a single handle, no. 76 has no handles; Stern 2019, 26 fig. 2.6, 15.

and in SC147, the latter with a single handle[82]. In the Hellenistic strata 3–2 at Ashdod two red-slipped pots were retrieved[83]. While form and size are similar, the convex body profile is different and there is no inner recess. However, the globular wide-mouthed cooking pot is a generic form, long-lived and wide-spread, and even with complete vessels it is generally impossible to provide evidence for mutual inspiration within the many local and regional production centres[84].

16. Reversible lid

H. 5.5; D. 15.5.

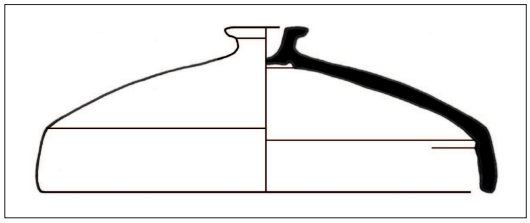
Restored from five fragments. Sloping top ending in broad flange, set off by pronounced ridge. Inner vertical flange to fit neck of cooking pot. Hollow narrow knob. Wheel-ridging on interior.



17. Reversible lid

H. 7.5; D. 20.

Restored from three fragments. Convex wall with vertical edge and narrow knob in the form of a ring foot.



For the two reversible lids, I did not find parallels in Egypt, yet the distinct fabric is undoubtedly PRW. At Nea Paphos the imported lids in brown ware (Nile Delta products) are different[85]. None of the locally produced lids from Maresha resemble the PRW lids[86].

Large and small reversible lids were popular in the Athenian Agora, particularly in the late Hellenistic period[87]. Often painted in West Slope technique, their function was multi-purpose; as toiletry articles they were used to cover pyxides, others probably served as covers for lekanides or could have been used in the cult of Isis. Their characteristic feature is the vertical edge like lid **no. 17**, while the knobs are broader. The local and imported cookware lids in the Athenian Agora display considerable variation with conical profiles or of flat shape, with solid knobs or knobs in the form of a ring foot[88]. None of the Athenian lids has the inner vertical flange like lid **no. 16**, with the exception of an imported lid of possibly Pergamene origin[89]. Even though the two lids fit the two cooking pots, the lack of soot makes it unlikely

82 Stern – Osband 2015, 182 Table 2.33; 194 fig. 2.6, 11; Stern et al. 2016, 44 fig. 4, 10; 45 »pale brown clay, H. 8.8 cm; max. D. 10.7 cm«.

83 Kee 1971, 144. 170–171 fig. 80, 5–6. No. 5 »brown clay, pinkish-grey core, grey grits, red slip«; no. 6 »brown clay, white and grey grits, red slip«. The slip is applied to the upper two-thirds of the vessels.

84 Compare for example the cooking pots of the southern Levant, Berlin 2015, 635 – 636. 650 – 653 pls. 6.1.7–8, with Egyptian products, Harlaut 2018, 146 fig. 26; Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 261–267 pls. 23–29.

85 Hayes 2003, 455 no. 28; 457 nos. 39–40.

86 Stern – Osband 2015, 194 fig. 2.6, 10 (SC90); Stern 2019, 26 fig. 2.6, 19–20 (SC169).

87 Rotroff 1997, 192–197.

88 Rotroff 2006, 195–199.

89 Rotroff 1997, 410 no. 1660.

that they were exposed to fire. At Tebtynis many of the cooking pots in red fabric turned brown after having been exposed to fire[90]. On the Island of Geronisos, Cyprus the fragment of an imported PRW saucer/lid is blackened on the outer surface, suggesting that it was used as lid for a cooking pot[91]. However, in case the two cooking pots were used also as serving dishes the lids would have kept the food warm after cooking and before serving.

Table 1

Cat. no.	Vessel type	Reg. no.	Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019
1	Plate: rolled rim	4361/05-169-50-976	Fig. 3.5, 1
2	Bowl: carinated	4361/05-169-67-1215	Fig. 3.5, 2
3	Echinus bowl	4361/05-169-65-1198	Fig. 3.5, 3
4	Echinus bowl	4361/05-169-67-1228-S1	Fig. 3.5, 4
5	Juglet	37/15 + 7015/14-169-197-2769 + 187-2631 + 187-2579	Fig. 3.5, 5
6	Juglet, neck fragment	4687/06-169-93-1456	Fig. 3.5, 6
7	Juglet, handle	4687/06-169-93-1456	Fig. 3.5, 6
8	Kyathos, handle	4361/05-169-59-901	Fig. 3.5, 7
9	Kyathos (?)	4687/06-169-68-1321	Fig. 3.5, 8
10	Juglet	4687/06-169-67-1267	Fig. 3.5, 9
11	Aryballos	4361/05-169-67-1042-S1	Fig. 3.5, 10
12	Aryballos	3567/02-169-18-476	Fig. 3.5, 11
13	Guttus	4361/05-169-67-1162	Fig. 3.5, 12
14	Chytra	4361/05-169-39-946	Fig. 3.6, 1
15	Chytra	4099/04-169-36-668-S1	Fig. 3.6, 2
16	Reversible lid	3567/02-169-20-442	Fig. 3.6, 3
17	Reversible lid	4099/04-169-31-614-S1	Fig. 3.6, 4

90 Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012, 12–13, cookware fabric F Va–b.

91 Młynarczyk 2009, 211.

Bibliography

Abd al-Ghani 1995	M. Abd al-Ghani, Zenon in Syria and Palestine, Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano I. Centenario del Museo Greco-Romano, Alessandria, 23–27 novembre 1992, Atti del II Congresso intenazionale Italo-Egiziano (Rome 1995) 12–25
Ballet 2001	P. Ballet, Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines d'Égypte, in: P. Lévêque – J.-P. Morel (eds.), Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines 3 (Paris 2001) 105–144
Ballet 2002	P. Ballet, Les productions céramiques d'Égypte à la période hellénistique. Les indices de l'hellénisation, in: F. Blondé – P. Ballet – J.-F. Salles (eds.), Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines. Productions et diffusion en Méditerranée orientale (Chypre, Égypte et côte syro-palestinienne), TOM 35 (Lyon 2002) 85–96
Ballet 2003	P. Ballet, Recherches sur les ateliers de potiers de Bouto, aux époques hellénistique et romaine (Secteurs P1 et P 2). Campagnes 2001 et 2002), in: U. Hartung et al., Tell el-Fara'in – Buto. 8. Vorbericht, MDAIK 59, 2003, 233–244
Ballet 2009	P. Ballet, Les relations culturelles entre l'Égypte et Chypre: la céramique d'Alexandrie et de Paphos, in: D. Michaelides – V. Kassianidou – R. S. Merrillees (eds.), Proceedings of the International Conference Egypt and Cyprus in Antiquity, Nicosia, 3–6 April 2003 (Oxford 2009) 161–175
Ballet – Południkiewicz 2012	P. Ballet – A. Południkiewicz, La céramique des époques hellénistique et impériale (campagnes 1988–1993): production, consommation et reception dans le Fayoum meridional (Tebtynis V) (Cairo 2012)
Berlin 2001	A. M. Berlin, Naukratis / Kom Hadid: A Ceramic Typology for Hellenistic Lower Egypt, in: A. Leonhard, Jr., Ancient Naukratis: Excavations of a Greek Emporium in Egypt 2: The Excavations at Kom Hadid, AASOR 55 (Atlanta 2001) 26–163
Berlin 2015	A. M. Berlin, Hellenistic Period, in: S. Gitin, The Ancient Pottery of Israel and its Neighbors from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period 2 (Jerusalem 2015) 629–671
Berlin – Pilacinski 2003	A. Berlin – J. Pilacinski, The Pottery of the Early and Middle Hellenistic Period, RDAC 2003, 201–237
Berlin – Stone 2016	A. M. Berlin – P. J. Stone, The Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery, in: M. Hartal – D. Syon – E. Stern – A. Tatcher, 'Akko 2. The 1991–1998 Excavations. The Early Periods, IAA Report 60 (Jerusalem 2016) 133–202
Charlesworth 1967	D. Charlesworth, The Industrial Area, in: M. V. Seton-Williams, The Tell el-Farā'īn Expedition, 1967, JEA 53, 1967, 146–155
Coulson – Wilkie 1986	W. D. E. Coulson – N. C. Wilkie, Ptolemaic and Roman Kilns in the Western Nile Delta, BASOR 263, 61–75
David 2016	R. David, Céramiques ptolémaïques de la region thébaine. Actes de la table ronde de Karnak, les 28 et 29 septembre 2014, CCE 10 (Cairo 2016)
Élaigne 2000	S. Élaigne, Imitations locales de céramiques fines importées: le cas des «colour-coated ware» dans les contextes hellénistiques d'Alexandrie, CCE 6, 2000, 99–112
Élaigne 2002	S. Élaigne, L'introduction des céramiques fines hellénistiques du basin oriental de la Méditerranée à Alexandrie. Importations et imitations locales, in: F. Blondé – P. Ballet – J.-F. Salles (eds.), Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines. Productions et diffusion en Méditerranée orientale (Chypre, Égypte et côte syro-palestinienne), TOM 35 (Lyon 2002) 159–173

Élaigne 2007	S. Élaigne, Les importations des céramiques fines hellénistiques à Beyrouth (site Bey 002): aperçus du faciès nord levanting, Syria 84, 2007, 107–142
Élaigne 2012	S. Élaigne, La vaisselle fine d'habitat alexandrin. Contribution à la connaissance de la mobilité des techniques et des produits céramiques en Méditerranée du IIe siècle av. J.-C. à l'époque claudienne, EtAlex 21 (Cairo 2012)
Élaigne 2013	S. Élaigne, Eléments d'évaluation des échelles de diffusion des la vaisselle de table au IIe siècle avant J.-C. dans la monde hellénistique, in: A. Tsingarida – D. Viviers (eds.), Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World (8th – 1st centuries B.C.), Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles 19–21 June 2008 (Brussels 2013) 213–228
Erlich 2009	A. Erlich, The Art of Hellenistic Palestine, BARIntSer 2010 (Oxford 2009)
Gill 2012	J. C. R. Gill, Ptolemaic ›Black Ware‹ from Mut el-Kharab, in: C. M. Knoblauch – J. C. R. Gill (eds.), Egyptology in Australia and New Zealand 2009, BARIntSer 2355 (Oxford 2012) 15–25
Gill 2016	J. C. R. Gill, Dakhleh Oasis and the Western Desert of Egypt under the Ptolemies (Oxford 2016)
Guz-Silberstein 1995	B. Guz-Zilberstein, The Typology of the Hellenistic Coarse Ware and Selected Loci of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, in: E. Stern, Excavations at Dor. Final Report 1 B. Areas A and C: The Finds, Qedem Reports 2 (Jerusalem1995) 289–433
Harlaut 2002	C. Harlaut, Productions céramiques égyptiennes d'Alexandrie à l'époque ptolémaïque. Évolution des forms et des fabriques. Traditions locales et innovations, in: F. Blondé – P. Ballet – J.-F. Salles (eds.), Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines. Productions et diffusion en Méditerranée orientale (Chypre, Égypte et côte syro-palestinienne), TOM 35 (Lyon 2002) 263–287
Harlaut 2018	C. Harlaut, Aux origines d'Alexandrie et sa production céramique. Vases de contexts hellénistiques anciens, provenant d'Alexandrie, de l'île de Nelson (region de Canope), et de Plinthine (Chôra occidentale) 331–250 avant J.-C., in: C. Harlaut – J. W. Hayes, Pottery in Hellenistic Alexandria, EtAlex 45, 2018, 9–159
Harlaut – Hayes 2018	C. Harlaut – J. W. Hayes, Hellenistic Pottery Deposits from Alexandria, in: C. Harlaut – J. W. Hayes, Pottery in Hellenistic Alexandria, EtAlex 45, 2018, 161–313
Hayes 1991	J. W. Hayes, The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery, Paphos 3 (Nicosia 1991)
Hayes 2003	J. W. Hayes, Hellenistic and Roman Pottery Deposits from the ›Saranda Kolones‹ Castle Site at Paphos, BSA 98, 2003, 447–516
Honigman 2003	S. Honigman, Politeumata and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt, Ancient Society 33, 2003, 61–100
Johnson 2008	B. Johnson, Ashkelon II: Imported Pottery of the Roman and Late Roman Periods. Final Reports of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (Winona Lake, IN 2008)
Kee 1971	H. C. Kee, The Pottery, in: M. Dothan, Ashdod 2–3. The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations 1963, 1965, Soundings in 1967, Atiqot 9–10, 1971
Kloner 1994	A. Kloner, A Unique Hellenistic Juglet from Maresha (Marissa/Tel Sandahannah), EllKer 3, 1994, 269–271
Kloner 2003	A. Kloner, Maresha Excavations Final Report 1. Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70, IAA Reports 17 (Jerusalem 2003)
Kloner et al. 1992	A. Kloner – D. Regev – U. Rappaport, A Hellenistic Burial Cave in the Judean Shephelah, Atiqot 21, 1992, 27*–50* (Hebrew with English Summary on pp. 175–176)

Kloner – Hess 1985	A. Kloner – O. Hess, A Columbarium Cave in Complex 21 at Maresha, Atiqot 17, 1985, 122–133
Kloner – Sagiv 1993	A. Kloner – N. Sagiv, The Olive Presses of Hellenistic Maresha, Israel, in: M.-C. Amouretti – J.-P. Brun (eds.), La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée. Oil and Wine Production in the Mediterranean Area, BCH Suppl. 26 (Paris 1993) 119–136
Kloner – Sagiv 2003	A. Kloner – N. Sagiv, Subterranean Complexes 44 and 45, in: Kloner 2003, 51–72
Kloner – Zissu 2013	A. Kloner – B. Zissu, The Subterranean Complexes of Maresha. An Urban Center from the Hellenistic Period in the Judean Foothills, Israel, Opera Ipogea 2, 2013, 45–62
Lamarche 2003	A. Lamarche, La céramique. Secteur 2 de la fouille du pont de Gabbari, in: J.-Y. Empéreur – M.-D. Nenna (eds.), Nécropolis 2.1, EtAlex 7 (Cairo 2003) 111–190
Leonhard 2001	A. Leonhard, Jr., Appendix 1. Field Pottery Types, in: A. Leonhard, Jr., Ancient Naukratis: Excavations of a Greek Emporium in Egypt 2: The Excavations at Kom Hadid, AASOR 55 (Atlanta 2001) 221–229
Levine 2003a	T. Levine, Pottery and Small Finds from Subterranean Complexes 21 and 70, in: Kloner 2003, 73–130
Levine 2003b	T. Levine, Pottery and Small Finds from Subterranean Complex 44, in: Kloner 2003, 131–135
Lund 2015	J. Lund, A Study of the Circulation of Ceramics in Cyprus from the 3rd Century BC to the 3rd Century AD (Aarhus 2015)
Młynarczyk 2009	J. Młynarczyk, Sailors and Artisans: the Egyptian Connections of Ceramic Finds from Yeronisos, in: D. Michaelides – V. Kassianidou – R. S. Merrillees (eds.), Proceedings of the International Conference Egypt and Cyprus in Antiquity, Nicosia, 3–6 April 2003 (Oxford 2003) 210–215
Muir 2009	J. V. Muir, Life and Letters in the Ancient Greek World (London 2009)
Myśliwiec 1988	K. Myśliwiec, Remains of a Ptolemaic Villa at Athribis, MDAIK 44, 1988, 183–197
Myśliwiec 1996	K. Myśliwiec, Les ateliers d'Athribis ptolémaïque, Archaeologia 47, 1996, 7–20
Myśliwiec 2009	K. Myśliwiec, Tell Atrib 1985–1995, II (Warsaw 2009)
Myśliwiec – Abu Senna 1995	K. Myśliwiec – S. Abu Senna, Polish-Egyptian Excavations at Tell Atrib in 1991–1993, EtTrav 17, 1995, 1205–240
Myśliwiec – Bakr Said 1999	K. Myśliwiec – M. Bakr Said, Polish-Egyptian Excavations at Tell Atrib in 1994–1995, EtTrav 18, 1999, 179–219
Południkiewicz 1992	A. Południkiewicz, Local Imitations of Greek Pottery found at Tell Atrib, CCE 3, 1993, 95–101
Regev 2013	D. Regev, Appendix 2: Typology of the Persian and Hellenistic Forms at Maresha – Subterranean Complexes 70, 21, 58, in: Kloner 2003, 163–183
Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019	R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, Imported Pottery and Selected Locally Made Vessels, in: Stern 2019, 41–87
Rotroff 1997	S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, Agora 29 (Princeton, NJ 1997)
Rotroff 2006	S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. The Plain Wares, Agora 32 (Princeton, NJ 2006)
Stager 1991	L. E. Stager, Eroticism and Infanticide at Ashkelon, BAR 17.4, 1991, 35–53. 72
Stern 2012	I. Stern, Ethnic Identities and Circumcised Phalli at Hellenistic Maresha, Strata (BAngloIsrASoc) 30, 2012, 57–87

Stern 2019	I. Stern, Excavations at Maresha. Subterranean Complex 169. Final Report Seasons 2000–2016, Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology 11 (Jerusalem 2019)
Stern et al. 2016	I. Stern – B. Alpert – A. Kloner, Subterranean Complex 147 at Maresha: The Construction Phases of the Columbarium, Atiqot 87, 2016, 37–48
Stern – Osband 2015	I. Stern – M. Osband, Pottery and Small Finds, in: I. Stern – N. Sagiv – B. Alpert, Excavations at Maresha: Subterranean Complex 90 – Final Report, NGSBAArchJ 3, 2015, 175–203
Thompson 1988	D. J. Thompson, Memphis under the Ptolemies (Princeton, NJ 1988)
Tsafrir et al. 1994	Y. Tsafrir – L. Di Segni – J. Green, Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea Palaestina. Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. Map and Gazetteer (Jerusalem 1994)
Tsingarida 2013	A. Tsingarida, The Markets of Fine Ware, in: A. Tsingarida – D. Viviers (eds.), Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World (8th–1st centuries B.C.), Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles 19–21 June 2008 (Brussels 2013) 115–117
Wodzińska 2010	A. Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery 4: Ptolemaic Period–Modern Period (Boston 2010)
Zissu 1995	B. Zissu, Two Herodian Dovecotes: Ḥorvat Abu Haf and Ḥorvat ʻAleq, in: J. H. Humphrey (ed.), The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research, JRA Suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, MI 1995) 56–69

Lissos in Illyria: Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery, and a Plea for the Publication of Contextual Material

Patricia Kögler

In 1934, Homer A. Thompson published a first, brief typology and chronology of Athenian Hellenistic pottery in order »to clarify and amplify that chapter in the ceramic history of Athens which covers the time between the end of the fourth and the end of the second century B.C.«[1] The basis of his investigation were five well-stratified, large assemblages of Hellenistic table and cooking ware from the Athenian Agora. Offering the opportunity to anchor assemblages of similar types in them and to construct a wide chronological net, these groups (A–E) soon gained importance for sites in the entire Mediterranean. Now, 85 years after their publication and with later revisions, neither the groups A–E nor Thompson's publication have lost their meaning. For good reasons: First, the significance of pottery assemblages like Thompson's groups goes far beyond the chronological aspects to which they are often reduced. And second, ›Two Centuriers of Hellenistic Pottery‹[2] demonstrates methodically clear all steps that lead to the determination of production times and development stages of individual vessel types and also makes it understandable for other colleagues who have no direct access to the Athenian material. Last but not least, the thorough documentation and publication of the underlying contextual material offers the opportunity to reevaluate it even decades later – and thus also to specify the chronological data according to the expanded state of knowledge.

Unfortunately, it is a generic custom these days to present finished type catalogues without also revealing the contextual basics for this and putting them up for discussion. A good example is the typology of the so-called Pergamene Sigillata, published in 1988, that is based mainly on still unpublished cistern fillings[3]. The author, C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, is certainly right in pointing out that the publication of the entire material would have surpassed the scope of this publication and would hardly have been possible due to the sheer number of sherds[4]. Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of the assemblages and their components, their

1 Thompson 1934, 311.

2 Thompson 1934.

3 Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, esp. pp. 20–59. The publication is listed here to represent a number of similar works. As a recent publication, which also omits a detailed description of pottery assemblages, Gamberini 2016 can be cited here, which concerns the Illyrian region.

4 Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 11.

relative chronological order and seriation should have preceded this publication imperatively. Instead, the fillings are assessed solely on the basis of coins, lamps, and the topographical situation, while other ceramics contained therein were not considered as dating material – and therefore not even mentioned. In the meantime, new chronological data on various types of ceramics – such as eastern sigillatas, stamped amphora handles, etc. – emphasize the necessity to reassess the Pergamene cistern fillings and to review profoundly both typology and chronology[5]. So far, this has only happened in the case of a single cistern, and S. Japp's examination of the chronologically meaningful pottery resulted in significantly different data for the filling[6]. This example underlines more than clearly the importance of the documentation and publication of ceramic complexes – considering alone their chronological significance. Type catalogues are undoubtedly useful manuals for the rapid chronological classification of new finds. But when using them, one should not forget that they are based on a complex and sensitive construction that is made up of various factors, such as the local stratigraphy, the data of exported vessels at other sites, the correlation with comparable types of other production centres, the decoration, etc. This construction corresponds to the state of knowledge of the time it was created and requires regular review, especially if new research results lead to changes in one of the components. The local stratigraphy and thus the assemblages of pottery and other finds are of crucial importance and should be verifiable – independently! – at any time. In many respects, ceramic research also depends on the publication of contexts, as they are indispensable in order to make progress with regard to the chronology of ceramics and the refinement of dating frames. Contexts allow to observe which types of vessels are associated with each other in the different time horizons and how their composition changes over time. This can hardly be achieved in a satisfying form by a mere catalogue of types.

For the reasons given, it is difficult to understand why relevant contexts are not published at all or not comprehensively[7]. Assemblages in question, such as the Pergamene cistern fillings, are naturally quite extensive, and enormous amounts of fragments have to be managed. But in many cases, detailed documentation and publication are rejected because the context may not be completely closed, may contain a slight disturbance, and / or the material may be spread over a longer period. Because of this all an assemblage is often said to be ›unusable‹. But, unusable for what purpose? A context that contains disruptions is certainly problematic for dating overlying settlement layers and building structures. However, hundreds of homogeneous fragments in an extensive collection are not entirely without meaning only due to a some intrusions. They still provide us with a wealth of information on local pottery and handicraft, economic aspects and the exchange of goods, intercultural connections, cultural and cultic aspects, social structure, eating and drinking habits and other aspects of daily life within a certain period of time. When deciding on the ›usability‹ of an assemblage, one should also consider the fact that the conditions at most sites are not as ideal as in Athens, and the ›perfect context‹ will most probably not come for a long time or never appear. Nevertheless, it is possible to make scientific progress and gain new knowledge by working with the existing

5 The advances in research into Eastern Sigillata are already evident in Atlante II (1985), the dating of the material from the Athenian Agora became more precise and revised (e. g. Rotroff 1997, Rotroff 2006) and, last but not least, the extensive catalogue of the Campanian pottery should be considered in chronological matters (Morel 1981). Comparing the Pergamene and Campanian shapes, typological relations that may help to consolidate and clearify the chronology of some sigillata types become evident (see e. g. Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, Form N 4a. 4b pl. 11, 111. 114, and Morel 1981, serie 2320 pl. 47–48).

6 See e. g. cistern 3 (J7a–d), filling 1: Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, 34–35, dates the filling to the mid-1st cent. BCE, while Japp found a date in the early 1st cent. CE, see Japp 2008, 272–273 nos. K 111–116 figs. 67–68 pl. 43. New data of the cistern filling will not only influence the Pergamene Sigillata, but also other kinds of Pergamene pottery, of which the chronological frame refers to these contexts. See also Japp 2014 on the chronological problems connected with Pergamene Sigillata.

7 On the problem see also in this volume Brice Erickson's review of S. James, Hellenistic Pottery. The Fine Wares, Corinth 7, 7.

– although not completely perfect – material and evaluating it as best as possible. In any case, the black spots on the map of Hellenistic pottery, which are still countless despite a hundred years of research, are not being filled by refraining from examining and publishing pottery assemblages because of too high demands that result solely from their consideration as a means of dating.

The Case of Lissos

One of such sites with not so ideal conditions is Lissos in Illyria, an ancient harbour city, now covered by the Albanian city of Lezha. In the years from 2006 to 2011, excavations took place in a small area of the urban territory, carried out by the German and Albanian Archaeological Institutes[8]. During the last three excavation campaigns (2009–2011), a systematic documentation of the ceramic material was carried out in order to create a typology and chronology for the Hellenistic and Imperial fine and coarse wares[9]. Naturally, a chronological framework developed on the basis of well-stratified and dated local assemblages is necessary to form the basis for the definition of the chronological position or the production period of individual vessel types. As one can easily imagine, the modern urban activities and the associated construction work with interventions even in the deepest layers, do not offer a good starting point for finding suitable context material. Undisturbed layers still exist, but they always contain only a few and very small fragments that cannot be determined typologically or that represent widespread, long-lived types like bowls with incurved rim or ordinary plates. However, the construction of a typology requires pottery assemblages that contain the broadest possible range of definitely identifiable and characteristic shapes. Since the ›perfect‹ context is still lacking in Lissos, collections had to be used that correspond as closely as possible to the essential requirements: stratified, extensive, and homogeneous assemblages with a large repertoire of well-preserved shapes and with dating material. It had to be accepted that the collections contain a slight intrusion of younger, but rarely of post-antique material.

In view of the reasons mentioned above, three of the assemblages in question are published here in advance of the catalogue of types, which is in progress and forthcoming as volume 3 of the Lissos excavation reports[10]. Yet the publication of the contexts serves also another purpose that goes beyond the methodical aspects. Above all, it is due to the current publication status in the field of Illyrian Hellenistic pottery: Although context material has already been presented in various ways for the Hellenistic period, it usually represents grave inventories with a narrow range of types[11]. Pottery finds from settlements, on the other hand, are usually presented in a typologically sorted order and at most assigned to phases of urban development that can last two centuries or more[12]. This results in an accordingly long production period corresponding to the duration of the settlement phase for all vessel types included. On this basis, it is impossible to observe development-related changes in individual types. In particular, this has consequences for the indigenous vessel types, which were hardly widespread beyond the Illyrian region and which cannot be determined chronologically using stratified finds from other sites.

8 The excavations were directed by A. Oettel and G. Hoxha. On the entire history of research in Lissos, the aims of the research project, etc. see Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming; Oettel 2014; Oettel 2015. For a general map of the site see Oettel 2012, 248 fig. 3; Oettel 2014, 457 fig. 4.

9 For their support in this documentation work I would like to thank my student colleagues A. C. Cue, J. Daitche, L. Heinze und S. Ratto, who assisted me to photograph the more than 1200 sherds and vessels. The drawings were made by M. Brückle and the author; the krater **A.18** was drawn by G. Rrugia.

10 Volume 1 is currently in preparation, see Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming.

11 See e. g. the publication of the Gostilj necropolis, Basler 1969.

12 Compare e. g. the publication of the pottery from Selcë (Ceka 1985) or Beltojë (Lahi 1988). See also the recent publication on Phoinike, Gamberini 2016.

A more extensive series of stratified assemblages from Lissos is now presented for the first time, which provides more precisely defined key dates for a specification of the existing chronological framework. However, the presentation of these contexts can only constitute a first step towards a refined chronology, especially as the sequence of well-dated contexts from Lissos is still full of gaps.

Due to the fact that the stratigraphy will soon be published[13], it will also be possible to link the pottery assemblages to their find situation and to consider them in connection with this. The vessels can thus be viewed against their historical, cultural, social and functional background, providing valuable information that cannot be made adequately visible in the context of a typology or that is even omitted due to different priorities.

For these reasons too, the selection of the assemblages presented here as Groups A, B, and C is by no means left to chance. Each of these groups represents the material culture of a certain phase within the urban development that could be identified as a result of the excavations[14]:

Group A, including pottery from the late 4th to the early 3rd cent. BCE, represents the first stage of urbanization in Lissos, when the city wall was erected and the street system was developed[15]. The pottery of Group B reflects the long Illyrian urban phase, covering the reign of queen Teuta (232/231–229 BCE) and the changeable history of the city up to the reign of the last Illyrian king, Genthios, and the Roman conquest around 168 BCE, when the city and her fortification were obviously destroyed in large parts. The following Roman period up to the refortification of Lissos by Julius Caesar is represented by the finds in Group C.

The three groups are in a clear relative chronological order and allow some major observations on the development of pottery production in Lissos between around 300 BCE and the middle of the 1st cent. BCE. A look at the composition of the vessels contained in each assemblage shows fundamentally different spectra of types and wares, particularly in the field of tableware; except for some universal and durable types, the repertoire has been completely renewed at least twice. The transformations of the pottery repertoire are certainly a result of a continuous development rather than a sudden occurance. However, the contexts and their chronological frames provide us with a term for the (temporary) completion of these replacements. The first complete renewal of the spectrum seems to have been completed at the latest by the mid-2nd cent., the second around 50 BCE. Despite these significant changes in the composition of the assemblages, it is striking that until the second half of the 2nd cent. the shapes used are continuously corresponding to South Italien parallels[16]. Interestingly, the pottery repertoire shows no other significant external influences despite the long period of development (ca. 300–150 BCE). In particular, traces of Greek pottery are not to be found to any appreciable extent in the local type spectrum, nor in the imported material, even though at the same time the city wall was built in Greek manner[17]. Not even the First Macedonian War (215–205 BCE) and the subsequent occupation of the city seem to have had influence on the material culture of the Illyrian inhabitants. As Group C demonstrates, this changes in the late Hellenistic period – the first Roman phase of the urban development – when pottery from eastern Mediterranean production centres appears within the non-local material and is also imitated by the local potters[18].

13 Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming.

14 For the different phases and the urban development see Oettel 2015; Oettel 2014.

15 See Oettel 2014, 456–458.

16 The typological origin and relations were examined for each individual vessel type, the results will be presented in detail in the forthcoming typology (Volume 3 of the Lissos excavation report).

17 Oettel 2015, 237; Oettel 2014, 458.

18 See Kögler 2009–2010.

The following considerations on the assemblages A–C and the types of vessels they contain are exclusively focused on chronological aspects. By investigating the production period of the individual vessels and vessel types, the overall chronological frame of the entire material contained in a context is determined, as well as the time when the collection is deposited[19]. The comparative material for individual pieces or types does not claim to be complete. It is limited to parallels that help to date the vessels from Lissos as precisely as possible; these can be well-stratified individual pieces, but also prototypes for which a stable chronology has already been developed in research. For specimens for which no dating counterparts could be found, the contexts themselves must be regarded as dating. This applies above all to the vessel types of Illyrian origin, but also to the majority of household and cooking ware, even if occasionally a dating frame is given in individual cases[20]. Typological aspects, such as changes in the development of a type, its typological origin and its interrelationships with other types, are the subject of an independent study that is currently in progress and will be presented as a separate volume of the Lissos excavation series. For the same reason, questions about the import of ceramics and the economic and cultural relationship they document are here not dealt with in detail.

Accordingly, the vessels and fragments in the catalogue were primarily sorted according to typological criteria.

All the numbers of layers (EL), contexts (BF) etc. listed below correspond to the stratigraphic information used in the first volume of the Lissos series, that deals with the excavations in Areas A and B in the lower city[21]. Group A comes from Area A within the city walls, while Groups B and C were found outside of the city walls in Area B.

The Pottery Assemblages

Group A (figs. 1–5)

Group A (BF 549) is part of a fill (EL 1007) that covers an occupation layer, the chip stone layer EL 1006 in excavation area A[22]. EL 1007 is covered by a layer of pebble (EL 1009), which, however, has not covered and closed the horizon in all sections, so that isolated fragments of the filling above could irrupt and cause a slight contamination of the otherwise homogeneous material by younger amphora material[23]. Group A itself, from the deeper region of EL 1007, did not contain such intrusions.

19 Apart from fine and cooking ceramics, mostly only transport amphoras provide information on the dating frame. But at the same time they pose a problem: especially the dominant amphoras of the Lamboglia 2 type are found in enormous amounts in all excavation areas, either mixed in or washed into the deepest and oldest layers. Because of the mass of material, the amphoras were treated separately and edited scientifically by B. Lahi, to whom I also owe the following information on the amphora types in Groups A–C. The typological determination is to be regarded as provisional, but a detailed publication by B. Lahi is in preparation. For a first overview see Lahi 2013 and Lahi 2015.

20 See the explanations above for the typologies published so far. The dating frames of the Illyrian vessel types as well as the coarse wares are usually wide-ranging and are rarely based on precisely determined context material.

21 For this and for details on the stratigraphy see Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming. For a map of the excavation areas in the lower city see Oettel 2015, 248 fig. 4; Oettel 2014, 459 fig. 8.

22 The filling layer was artificially separated into three parts with a total of 8 contexts. With the exception of BF 549, however, these contained no or only a some insignificant pottery fragments. For details see Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming. For a map of the lower city with excavation areas A and B see Oettel 2014, 459 fig. 8; Oettel 2015, 248 fig. 4.

23 The younger filling of the area mainly consists of amphora fragments. According to B. Lahi, the intrusive material in EL 1007 are two rims of amphoras of the types Will d and Lamboglia 2. Beyond this, only amphoras of the type Will a are found in EL 1007.

The bulk of the vessels are high-quality tableware, including numerous drinking vessels and other symposium dishes with painted decoration. The fine ware has a black coating almost throughout, which sometimes has a gloss-like quality, as shown by the skyphos **A.1** or the krater **A.18**.

With a few exceptions and some more durable types of household and cooking ware, the vessel types contained in Group A do not occur in the more recent contexts of the 2nd and 1st cent. BCE (see Groups B and C), while in Group A no types characteristic of the later settlement phases can be found. This alone results in an early time position for group A within the local relative chronology.

The precise chronological frame of the assemblage will be given mainly by the fine ware.

Group A contained three skyphoi of the so-called Attic type (**A.1–A.2**, and object no. LI-A-BF549-043, not listed), whose production time ends in the early 3rd cent. Visible particularly in the piece **A.1**, the accentuated proportions – a voluminous upper part of the vessel on an extremely narrow lower body – are characteristic of the latest stage of the development of the type[24]. This reveals a date for the skyphoi in the late 4th or early 3rd cent.

A.3 represents several fragments of a kantharos with traces of weathered painting in the form of a leaf tendril on the rim. What is striking is the decoration system of the vessel, in which a low, flat rim zone is separated from the vertically ribbed body of the vessel only by a single horizontal groove. The surface of skyphoi and kantharoi of Gnathia ware is similarly divided, to which **A.3** also corresponds typologically[25]. This implies that the piece was produced at the latest in the 1st quarter of the 3rd cent. BCE[26]. The lower body fragment with vertical hatching **A.4** probably belongs to a so-called Cup-Kantharos due to a still preserved, thin stem approach of the foot; the production of this type of vessel also ends around 275 BCE[27]. Fragment **A.5** represents a wide-bodied kantharos type, also of South Italian origin, the production of which dates back to the early 3rd cent.[28]. For **A.6**, a function as a drinking vessel must be assumed due to the dense black coating, which is restricted to the inside, and the dimensions, although the shape is more like a jug or – due to the flat bottom – a chytra. Comparable vessels with a more distinct neck, however, can regularly be found in graves of the Gostilj necropolis, where they are associated with Attic-type skyphoi and the kantharos types already discussed here. So, a simultaneous period of production in the late 4th or early 3rd cent. can be assumed for **A.6**[29]. Foot **A.7** also belongs to another kantharos; the preserved parts of the lower body show remnants of vertical comb hatching, which is delimited at the bottom by a horizontal groove. A comparable decoration and a similarly profiled foot occur on a kantharos from Apollonia, dated to the 3rd century[30]. In contrast, the rim fragment **A.8** is probably one of the oldest representative of cups with interior decoration; Of the painted decoration three ornamental zones are preserved: a row of irregularly arranged dots directly below the lip and then downwards two horizontal lines, each above a row of drops or small leaflets, as is often used in Gnathia ceramics to frame image and ornament fields[31]. The piece thus fits into the chronological frame determined so far.

24 See Rotroff 1997, 94. 257–258 no. 150–152 fig. 12 pl. 14.

25 Cf. Forti 1965, pls. 15, b; 28, c; Bernardini 1961, pls. 19, 7. 9. 11. 12; 21, 4–8.

26 To be included are kantharoi from the Illyrian region, generally dated to the late 4th and 3rd cent., see Vreka 1994b, 167. 173 nos. 26. 27 pl. 5; 178 no. 68 pl. 11; Ceka 1985, 122 no. 10; 124–125 pls. 74, 3; 75, 4; Lera 1992, 190 pl. 6, 4–5; Velimirović-Žižić 1966, 195 fig. 11.

27 Rotroff 1997, 85–87. 248–252 figs. 7–9 pls. 7–9.

28 Green 1976, 12 fig. 11; Froning 1982, 252–253 no. 104; Yntema 2001, 134–136 no. 200.

29 Basler 1969, pls. 6, 27/9; 10, 40/4. 43/3; 12, 54/1; 21, 109/4; 23, 120/2; 27, K4/1; 28, K10/1; 29, K18/1–2; Garašanin 1973, 16 grave 120 fig. 3 (phase I of the Necropolis).

30 See Vreka 1994b, 178 no. 69 pl. 11.

31 Cf. e. g. Bernardini 1961, pl. 5, 2–3. 6–7.

The two bowls with short, bent lip **A.9** and **A.10** can also be dated to the early 3rd cent. with the help of parallels from Athens[32]. The rim fragment **A.11** represents a small bowl, which, due to its thickened and on the outside slightly more pronounced profile, resembles Athenian specimen from around 300 BCE[33]. The larger bowl **A.14** with the slightly angled edge and the shallow groove on the outside has a counterpart in an early Hellenistic tomb at Gërmenj; the piece is associated with two skyphoi, one of Attic and one of Corinthian type, which means that it originated in the late 4th / early 3rd century[34].

The small, flat plate with raised lip **A.15** finds its best parallel in a plate of comparable dimensions from the Athenian Agora, which due to its context dates back to the first quarter of the 3rd century[35]. Related, although showing a somewhat different lip modeling is also a plate of the Campanian series dated around 290 BCE[36].

The krater **A.18** is likewise to be dated to the late 4th / early 3rd cent. corresponding to prototypes within the Gnathia pottery[37].

Among the closed vessels, the plain table amphora with bevelled rim **A.19** is interesting; its profile finds a parallel with an amphora from Apollonia, for which a dating from the end of the 4th cent. to the first half of the 3rd cent. is stated[38]. Both vessels also have the decoration in the form of painted horizontal stripes in common, as evidenced by the slight remains on the lip of **A.19**. The strikingly profiled lip of the rim of jug **A.21**, on the other hand, is comparable to vessels from Campanian-Etruscan production of the late 4th century[39]. A date probably in the second half of the 4th cent. is likely for the small unguentarium **A.22** due to its volume and proportions[40].

The remaining fragments of fine pottery, however, are too unspecific or, in the case of the closed forms, too fragmentary to be assigned to a particular type of vessel and thus to be determined chronologically.

The same applies to household and cooking vessels, which moreover hardly change typologically in the course of their production periods. Among the closed shapes of household ware, only the fragment of a narrow-necked jug with a curved rim **A.27** can probably be connected with some certainty to a type with an ovoid body common in the Illyrian region, which is regularly represented in early Hellenistic tombs of the Gostilj necropolis[41]. For the rim of a lopas **A.34** there is a good parallel in a vessel from Valesio, which derives from a context of the late 4th / early 3rd centuries[42]. The chytra with high, curved rim **A.33** is matched in vessels from the 4th cent. in Corinth[43].

32 Rotroff 1997, 339 nos. 972. 976. 977 fig. 62 pl. 75.

33 Rotroff 1997, 347 nos. 1079–1080 fig. 65 pl. 56. But also compare an Attic specimen from Sardis, made between 350 and 325 BCE, Ramage 1997, 119 no. Att 581 pl. 56.

34 Andrea 1988, 181–183 pl. 7, 8.

35 Rotroff 1997, 310 no. 650 fig. 46 pl. 61. Compare also no. 652.

36 Morel 1981, 161 no. 2283B1 pl. 44.

37 Cf. Forti 1965, 79–82 fig. 28 pls. 10, b; 15, a; 23, a. b; 28, d; 31, d; Bernardini 1961, pls. 12, 2; 13, 3. 5; 14, 1–6; 15, 1–2; 16, 3; for the shape see also Morel 1981, 327–328 form 4730, esp. no. 4731A pl. 144.

38 Vreka 1994b, 166. 171 pl. 1, 1. Compare also Bereti 1995, 199–201 no. 1 pl. 1, 1 Ka.

39 See e. g. Morel 1981, 331 no. 4933A pl. 149; 335 nos. 5115A. 5115b1 pl. 153.

40 Cf. e. g. Heimberg 1982, 94 no. 746 pl. 44; Rotroff 2006, 289 no. 407 fig. 62 pl. 52.

41 See e. g. Basler 1969, pls. 1, 4/1. 5/4; 2, 9/2; 3, 12/3; 4, 19/3, and many more. The pitcher type is regularly associated with Attic-type skyphoi and other vessel types already discussed here, which means that a contemporaneous time of origin can be assumed. Compare also grave 14 of the Gërmenj necropolis, containing a jar of this type together with an Attic-type skyphos (Andrea 1988, 173 pl. 3). However, the type also occurs in younger graves and was obviously produced over a long period of time without any noteworthy changes.

42 Yntema 2001, 287–288 no. 511.

43 Pemberton 1989, 68. 72 nos. 151–152 fig. 23 pl. 68.

The rounded, tight rim of an imported cooking pot **A.39** can be connected to chytrai with similar typological features in Athens and Corinth and thus be dated at the latest in the late 4th / early 3rd centuries[44]. Finally, we should refer to the rim fragment **A.40**, which belongs to a hand-modeled vessel from the pre-urban settlement phase.

All in all, there is a chronological frame for the material of Group A, which encloses the late 4th and the early 3rd cent. BCE[45]. The numerous vessel types with production phases that end in the early 3rd cent. set a date around 275 BCE for the deposition of Group A.

Group B (figs. 6–13)

The sherd deposit B (BF 254) belongs to a fill between the city wall and the rear wall (BF 222) of a building in front of it, which was erected after the city's destruction of around 168 BCE[46]. On the one hand, the assemblage is characterized by the high proportion of transport amphora fragments typical in Lissos, on the other by its homogeneous composition. In addition, BF 254 contained an extensive corpus of remarkably well-preserved table- and cookware, including some almost completely preserved or restorable vessels. Due to the stratigraphic conditions[47], BF 254 contained a small contamination consisting of the fragment of a transport amphora of type Dressel 2-4 and a glazed medieval sherd. With respect to the character of the assemblage, also the isolated fragments of a Brindisi oil amphora and an amphora of type Dressel 1A rather seem to be intrusions not belonging to the orginal fill[48].

The vessels and fragments in Group B mostly have a thin black coating, but occasionally pieces with an orange or reddish-brown coating (color-coated ware) appear (e.g. plates **B.32**, **B.28**, **B.31**, as well as the unguentarium **B.47**).

Unlike in Group C, ESA vessels or their imitations and other Eastern pottery were not retrieved in Group B. This also applies to other types of ceramics – such as thin-walled ware, etc. – their production starting in the second half of the 2nd cent. BCE.

The transport amphoras in Group B identified by B. Lahi also convey a consistent picture: the bulk of the material consists of Lamboglia 2 amphoras, while the Graeco-Italian types Will a and Will d appear in a few examples. It should also be noted here that the amphoras in Group B were preserved in remarkably large fragments.

While the kantharos type with outcurving lip and comb hatching, attested by **B.1–B.4** represents a shape that is common in the Illyrian region in the 3rd and 2nd cent., the kantharos **B.5** with straight rim can be typologically connected to the so-called Attic baggy-kantharoi, produced in the second half of the 3rd century[49].

In addition to the kantharoi, the assemblage contains a diverse range of cups with painted interior decoration (**B.6–B.12**), their production period covering the 3rd and 2nd cent. Noteworthy is the hemispherical cup on a high, profiled base (**B.7**), which typologically resembles Italian vessels from the mid-3rd century[50]. The large imported cup with an almost linear wall profile **B.72** finds parallels within the Attic and Italian series of the period between

44 Rotroff 2006, 303 nos. 555–556. 558 fig. 71 pl. 61; Pemberton 1989, 69. 73 no. 653 fig. 24 pl. 59.

45 The dating frame obtained from the tableware is supported by some fragments of Graeco-Italian amphoras of the type Will a contained in the context (for the dating of the type see Will 1982, 344). The identification was done by B. Lahi (on the date of the type, see Will 1982, 344).

46 Excavation area B, sondage 1, layer EL 2002, BF 254, see Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming. For the topographic situation see Oettel 2010, 34 fig. 44, and the map of the lower city, Oettel 2015, 248 fig. 4; Oettel 2014, 459 fig. 8.

47 See Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming.

48 It is probable that these sherds were brought into the fill when the building was destroyed in the 1st cent. BCE, see below Group C.

49 Rotroff 1997, 266–270 nos. 232–265 figs. 16–17 pls. 22–25.

50 Cf. Morel 1981, 245 no. 2987A pl. 85.

approx. 250–150 BCE[51]. The same applies to the base **B.11**, which is typical of the cups and bowls from Lissos and can be found in the Italian and Attic series (with and without an outer grooved rim) in a number of vessel types of this kind[52]. The moldmade bowl **B.49**, on the other hand, clearly points to the 2nd cent.

Among the plates, the two well-preserved specimens with wide, domed rim, **B.37** and **B.38,** are particularly striking. They clearly show their Italian prototype, their production period extending throughout the entire 2nd cent.; comparable to the two pieces from Group B are the deeper examples from the first half of the century[53]. The plates **B.34–B.36**, however, are dated still within the 3rd cent. by their comparative material; their common characteristic is a lip that is thickened inwards and outwards; the relatively linear course of the wall and the depth of the vessels indicate an already advanced stage of development[54]. The small plates **B.28–B.31** correspond with their raised, pointed lip to plate **A.15** from Group A, but show a much steeper rise in the wall and no longer the characteristic, glossy-like coating. Parallels can be found among the Attic rolled rim plates; their contexts date from the mid-3rd to the first half of the 2nd century[55]. Due to their proportions and the still rather voluminous body, the two unguentaria, **B.47** and **B.73**, find stratified parallels in Athens and can be dated to the 2nd century[56]. The partially covered or painted rim of krater **B.41** shows a similar shape as related vessels from the Athenian Agora, which derive from contexts of the 2nd century[57].

The jug **B.46** is characterized by a handle with a thorn-like upturned end; jugs of this type are widespread in the Illyrian area, where they occur regularly in horizons of the 3rd and 2nd cent. BCE[58].

Within the household and cooking pottery contained in Group B, some types can also be determined chronologically, based on stratified material from other sites: the large bowl with horizontal handles **B.50** has a parallel in Apollonia, which can be dated in the period between 250 and 150 BCE[59]. The bowl **B.51** can also be related to it due to the similar shape of the rim with only a slightly different orientation. Due to the design of its mouth the rim fragment **B.53** can be connected to an Apulian jug type, for which a dating frame from the mid-2nd to the early 1st cent. was determined[60]. The rim of the chytra **B.58** again finds a parallel in an Athenian vessel from the second half of the 2nd century[61]. Another chytra type, represented by fragments **B.59–B.60**, is found in Rotroff's chytra form 2, its production period covering the second half of the 3rd and the early 2nd cent. BCE[62], while the type present with **B.61** can be connected to

51 Cf. esp. Morel 1981, 141–141 nos. 2151A. 2154A–B1 pl. 32; see furthermore the bowls with inside decoration Typ 1 from the Athenian Agora, Rotroff 1997, 278–279 nos. 341–342. 344. 355 fig. 21 pls. 33–34.

52 Cf. e. g. Rotroff 1997, 276–277 nos. 322. 326. 331 fig. 20 (180–160 BCE); 278 no. 346 fig. 21 pl. 34 (200–175 BCE); 280–281 nos. 360. 366. 369 fig. 22 pls. 35–36 (240–200 BCE).

53 Cf. esp. Morel 1981, 103 nos. 1312b1. 1312f1. 1312h1. 1312l1 pls. 11–12; 104 no. 1315d1 pl. 13.

54 Cf. Morel 1981, 121 nos. 1534i1. 1534k1. 1534l1. 1534m1 pl. 22; see esp. Edwards 1975, 37 no. 104 pl. 4 (around 200 BCE).

55 Compare due to the shape of the lip esp. Rotroff 1997, 311–312 nos. 658–659. 675 fig. 47–48.

56 Rotroff 2006, 292–293 nos. 440–442. 448–452 figs. 63–64 pls. 63–64.

57 Cf. Rotroff 2006, 269 nos. 222. 224 fig. 38 pl. 31.

58 Cf. Andrea 1998, 178 pl. 4 grave 23, 2; pl. 9,1; pl. 8, grave 36, 1; Budina 1972, 337 pl. 24, 12; Budina – Prendi 1972, 40 pls. 11, b; 12, a; Dautaj 1972, pl. 3, 1; Dautaj 1976a, 391 pl. 6/2, 1–3. 5–6; Dautaj 1976b, 158 pl. 3, 12–13; Hidri 1986, pl. 1, 6.

59 Vreka 1994a, 208. 210 no. 35 pl. 154.

60 Yntema 2001, 200. 202 form K52b no. 357.

61 Rotroff 2006, 309 no. 616 fig. 78. Compare also a specimen from Selshe, Ceka 1985, 83 no. 18 pl. 55, 11.

62 Rotroff 2006, 169–170. 305 nos. 579–580 fig. 73 pl. 62. See also a rim fragment in an early Hellenistic context from Mashkjezë, Vreka 1987, 126 no. 112 pl. 6.

the Athenian form 3, which was mainly produced in the first half of the 2nd century[63]. The rim fragments **B.65–B.67** can be assigned to large storage vessels (pithoi), which have an isolated counterpart in the Attic shape repertoire of the 2nd cent. (second half)[64]. The type is common at Illyrian sites and characteristic of settlement horizons of the 3rd and 2nd cent. BCE[65].

The rim of a krater or bowl **B.76** is a non-local piece, which finds counterparts in South Italian vessels attested from the late 3rd to the mid-2nd century[66]. The rim of a closed shape **B.77**, on the other hand, falls somewhat out of the chronological frame; it corresponds to a late classical amphora from the Athenian Agora with a comparable shape design[67].

The vessel types of the fine ware as well as such household and cooking vessels which can be determined more precisely, are thus distributed relatively evenly through the second half of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd cent. (ca. 250–150 BCE). Types of the 1st cent. BCE, in contrast, could not be discovered in Group B, nor was pottery with a production start after the mid-2nd cent. included in significant numbers in the assemblage. As already mentioned above, characteristic wares of the late Hellenistic period (ESA, thin-walled ware, etc.) are completely missing in Group B.

Hence, the date for the deposition of the fill between the city wall and the building in front of it can be set around 150 BCE. The composition of the assemblage suggests that most of the table- and cookware was debris from the city's destruction around 168 BCE, which was then deposited after the house was built in the early first Roman phase. During the destruction process of the building around the mid-1st cent. BCE the assemblage was probably mixed up with some later material.

Group C (figs. 14–23)

Group C (BF 298) is the representative part of an extensive fill distributed relatively evenly over the rooms of the building erected in front of the southern city wall[68]. BF 298 is characterized by the almost complete absence of interfering material. The only foreign objects are the fragment of an amphora of type Dressel 2-4 and the rim fragment of an imperial-period casserole (**C.96**).

In comparison with Group B, there are some differences in the character of the tableware repertoire and its typological composition. First of all, it should be noted that the proportion of black-coated ceramics in Group C is significantly lower. Only about 50 % of the vessels still have a black coating, which, however, was largely applied so thinly that it often already takes on a dark brown shade. Only in a some cases is a real, dense and opaque black achieved, for example with the dishes and plates **C.26**, **C.35**, **C.37**, and **C.41**. The other vessels appear blotchy and colourful in light and with dark brown and reddis-brown hues (colour-coated ware).

The range of drinking vessels comprises mainly kantharoi (**C.2–C.8**) and moldmade bowls (**C.57–C.63**). The cups and conical bowls with interior decoration, frequent in Group B, are only attested in Group C by the isolated specimen **C.9**. The kantharoi correspond to the Illyrian type with hatched decoration represented in Group B (**B.2–B.4**). However, in the specimens in Group C a clear narrowing of the mouth area in combination with a concave rim modeling is noticeable; only **C.2** shows a comparably wide mouth with a linear wall. In

63 Cf. esp. Rotroff 2006, 170–171. 305 no. 582 fig. 73 pl. 62.

64 Rotroff 2006, 263 no. 172 fig. 28.

65 Cf. Ceka 1972, 173 pl. 2, 5; Ceka 1985, 71 no. b/2 pl. 40, 13. 15. 18; 83 no. 15 pl. 54, 12. 13; Dautaj 1976b, 158 pl. 3, 5.

66 Cf. form K31c from Valesio, Yntema 2001, 177–179 nos. 299–303. See also a similar type within the cooking pottery of the same site and period, Yntema 2001, 267. 270 form M59 no. 475.

67 Rotroff 2006, 257 no. 123 fig. 20 pl. 18.

68 Excavation area B, sondage/quadrant 9, layer EL 2034, for details on the topography see above Group B, and Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming.

addition, with **C.1** there appears the rim of a miniature skyphos, which repeats the rim shape of the kantharoi[69].

High, thin-walled beakers appear as a new form in Group C; the fragment of a rim with a strikingly deep-throated lip (**C.53**) of the type Atlante I/1 has been preserved, produced in Italy from the early second half of the 2nd until the mid-1st cent., as well as some wall fragments with a decoration of small barbotine dots (**C.56**), common during the same period[70].

The numerous bowls in the assemblage are predominantly specimens of the type with incurved rim (**C.12–C.18**), the production period of which covers the entire Hellenistic era. The same applies to the type with outcurved rim represented by **C.26**, with specimens of this size tending to be more likely found in the late 2nd or in the 1st cent. BCE[71]. The bowl with straight lip **C.25** is striking for its thin walls; it can be connected to a series of Italian bowls, which are spread through the 3rd and 2nd centuries[72].

C.27 represents a type of bowl that refers to a prototype of ESA both in form and its reddish-brown coating; with its evenly rounded shape and thin wall, **C.27** corresponds to vessels of the type Tel Anafa 25a or Atlante 22A, which were in use in the late 2nd and early 1st century[73]. A piece in Athens that is well comparable in terms of formal features comes from a context of the second quarter of the 1st cent., the type per se is only found in assemblages from around 100 BCE[74].

The situation is similar with fragment **C.39** of a plate with upturned rim, which represents a leading type of late Hellenism both in Italian production and in the repertoire of Eastern Sigillata A (ESA). Due to its reddish-brown coating, the piece most likely depends on models within the sigillata wares, as represented also in Group C (see plate **C.100**). The rim fragment **C.39** with its rounded exterior can be connected to plates of the type Atlante 3 or Tel Anafa 13c, produced from the late 2nd to the late 1st century[75]. Similar profiles are also shown by e. g. ESA plates from contexts of the early 1st cent. from the Athenian Agora[76]. Due to its linear rim profile, **C.100** corresponds to ESA plates of type Atlante 2 or Tel Anafa 13b, produced mainly in the second half of the 2nd century[77]. The very flat form of **C.100** should indicate a rather late date of production; comparable in this respect are again ESA plates from Athenian contexts of the first half or the first quarter of the 1st cent. BCE[78].

Among the plates there are also three specimens with a wide, raised rim (**C.35–C.37**), a type already represented in Group B (see **B.37–B.38**). Parallels of Italian production for the pieces from Group C also point to the 2nd century[79]. The shape of the rim of plate **C.38** finds

69 Similar miniature skyphoi apear in the Gostilj necropolis in graves of the second half of the 2nd cent. BCE, s. Garašanin 1973, 13–22 figs. 2, 2; 4, 1; 5, 2; Basler 1964, pls. 1, 1/2; 3, 11/1; 4, 16/3. 18/3; 5, 21/3; 6, 23/4; 8, 32/4; 9, 37/1. 38/5; 11, 45/3. 46/2; 12, 51/2; 14, 62/2; 15, 69/2; 16, 75/9; 17, 79/2. 84/1; 18, 90/2; 20, 98/2; 21, 104/2; 24, 122/1. 122/4; 27, K2/2; 28, K14/2.

70 Cf. for the type Atlante II, 243–244 pl. 78, 1–2; for the decoration see Atlante II, 323 Decorazione 1 pl. 105, 4.

71 For the type see Kögler 2010, 108–111 Form III Typ A.

72 Cf. Morel 1981, 144–145 no. 2173A pl. 33; 149 no. 2231A. 2231b1 pl. 35; 152 no. 2243b1 pl. 38; 239 no. 2961A. 2963A. 2963b1 pl. 81.

73 See Atlante II, 23–24 Form 22A pl. 3, 10; Warner Slane 1997, 309–312 Typ 25a pls. 17–18.

74 Hayes 2008, 27. 132 no. 89 fig. 4.

75 Atlante II, 14–15 pl. 1, 7; Warner Slane 1997, 288–289 pl. 7.

76 Hayes 2008, 126 no. 18–19 fig. 2.

77 Atlante II, 14 pl. 1, 4; Warner Slane 1997, 286–287 pl. 6, compare esp. nos. FW63 and FW64.

78 Hayes 2008, 125 nos. 8–9 fig. 1; a deeper vessel with comparable shape of the rim from the same site is dated around 110 to 100 BCE, Hayes 2008, 124 no. 3 fig. 1.

79 See Morel 1981, 104–106 nos. 1314A. 1314b1. 1314d1. 1314f1. 1315b1. 1315b1. 1324b1 pls. 12–14.

again a parallel Italian plate from the early 3rd cent., but the latter lacks the thickening on the underside of the lip[80].

C.44 and **C.45** are reversible lids, known in large numbers e. g. from Athens and Knidos, where they are documented in assemblages from the 3rd to the 1st cent. BCE. The high and voluminous shape represented by **C.44** and **C.45**, however, is characteristic of the younger phase of their development; specimens from the late 2nd and the first half of the 1st cent. in particular are comparable[81]. The careless painting on the top of **C.44** also supports this classification.

So far, only a few fragments of closed vessels can be typologically determined in more detail within the tableware of Group C. The guttus **C.49**, completely preserved except for its handle, is one example. Gutti are a form known primarily from Italy; a good parallel to this piece with filter and low clay collar occurs within Morel's type series, where it is dated in the early second half of the 2nd century[82]. Finds from Illyria from the Budva necropolis and from an early Hellenistic tomb of the Gërmenj necropolis are connected, with the type generally assigned to the 3rd–2nd century[83]. **C.46** may be classified as an amphora due to the remains of the handles below the lip. The dovetail-shaped lip profile has a parallel in a vessel in Athens from a late Hellenistic-early Imperial context; the piece itself dates from the early 2nd cent. due to its relief decoration[84].

Even under the pitchers and amphoras of household ware, only a few pieces are preserved well enough to enable a closer classification and dating. The rim **C.66** of a vessel with a wide, vertical neck and a sharp angled lip displays a typological relationship to Rotroff's amphora form 6, which dates back to the 1st century[85]. In addition, an amphora type from Illyria, dated in the 2nd–1st cent., is related[86]. The narrow mouth with straight lip, widening slightly towards the opening, of amphora **C.69** is best matched by another Illyrian type in circulation during the 3rd and 2nd century[87].

The large bowl with a sharp creased edge **C.64** represents a type known from South Italy, which was common in the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries[88].

The small chytra type represented by the rims **C.81–C.86** with a high neck and an inner lid support can also only generally be dated within the production period from the 3rd to the 1st cent. due to parallels from Illyrian sites[89]. A comparable rim design is tracable on South Italian jugs, producted during the same period[90]. Another type of chytra is represented by the specimens **C.89–C.91**, whereby especially **C.90** and **C.91** formally link to the fragments **B.65–B.66** from the previously discussed Group B. This suggests that the examples of Group C are to be dated in the same period[91].

80 Morel 1981, 105 no. 1322A pl. 13.

81 Cf. Athens: Rotroff 1997, 192–195. 366–368 figs. 79–80 pls. 95–98; Knidos: Kögler 2010, 194–197 nos. E.176. 179. 182–183. 247–249 figs. 24. 27 pls. 14. 16 (form XIX type A).

82 Morel 1981, 424–425 no. 8172A pl. 210.

83 Budva: Krstić 2004, 588 pl. 293, b; Gërmenj: Andrea 1988, 174–175. 182 pls. 6, 4; 10, 9.

84 See Rotroff 1997, 307 no. 619 fig. 45 pl. 59.

85 Rotroff 2006, 257–258 nos. 128–130 fig. 20.

86 Ceka 1972, 173 pl. 5, 1.

87 Bereti 1995, 199–200 no. 2Ka pl. 1.

88 Cf. Yntema 2001, 240–241 form M03 no. 422, from a context of late 2nd / early 1st cent. BCE.

89 Cf. e. g. Lahi 1988, 83 nos. 94–95 pl. 7; Lahi 1993, 210 no. 57 pl. 5, 58; Bunguri 1997, 65 no. 4 pl. 9, 13–14.

90 Cf. Yntema 2001, 249–251 form M23a, see esp. no. 439 from a context of the late 2nd / early 1st cent. BCE.

91 For parallels see **B.65–B.67**.

C.97 can be connected to form 2 pans from the Athenian Agora, documented through the period from the late 3rd to the early 1st centuries[92]. Shape and proportions of **C.97** find a close parallel in an example from a Sullan destruction context[93]. **C.103** is a rim fragment of a brazier; due to its fabric, the piece can be identified as an import and can be assigned to a type on a high stand with attachments in relief, which was common throughout the Mediterranean area during the 2nd and early 1st centuries[94].

With the exception of isolated vessels, which according to the current state of research date back to the 3rd cent., Group C contains mostly material from the 2nd and the first half of the 1st cent., including numerous vessel types with a long production period that can only be dated inaccurately. The ›closing date‹ of Group C and thus the time of the fill can be defined more precisely on the basis of a few vessel types. These include bowl **C.27** and plate **C.39** as imitations of ESA types, with their production not starting before the late 2nd cent. The two reversible lids **C.44** and **C.45** as well as the pan **C.97** also indicate a date at the earliest at this time.

With regard to the end of the dating frame of Group C, the typological composition of the assemblage is more revealing than the production periods of the individual vessel types, since the composition is similar to that of the destruction horizons of the first half of the 1st cent. on other sites. A comparable combination of types is shown by an assemblage from the ›Maison des Sceaux‹ in Delos; it includes also ESA bowls and plates of the types imitated in Lissos, moldmade bowls, thin-walled Italian beakers with barbotine dots and large lids[95]. A somewhat more recent destruction horizon in Knidos[96], as well as some assemblages from Paphos, dated between 110 and 60 BCE[97], can be added here. The suggested lower limit of the dating frame of Group C in the first half of the 1st cent. is also supported by its relative chronological position: Since the previously discussed context B, layed down about 150 BCE, contains neither sigillata types nor thin-walled wares, and since the composition of the contexts B and C also differs widely in other respects, Group C must be set within the local chronological order significantly later than the fill B.

This late chronological approach is also confirmed by the amount of amphora fragments contained in the assemblage, which can be described here as enormous. According to B. Lahi, the lion's share of the amphoras, with almost 100 specimens, are of the type Lamboglia 2. He also identified a number of Dressel 1A amphoras and a single Will d amphora. In addition, Group C contained the fragment of a Rhodian amphora and the rim and handle of an amphora from Knidos, whereby a so-called ›duoviri‹ stamp was preserved on the handle[98].

Consequently, a date around 75/50 BCE can be determined for the lower limit of the dating frame of Group C and hence also for the time of the filling of the building in front of the city wall.

The enormous mass of the fill material suggests that it too could be the result of a wider destruction during the 1st cent. BCE[99]. This is underlined by the fact that comparable contexts can also be found in the other excavation areas. It is very likely that this destruction of the

92 Rotroff 2006, 316–317 nos. 684–686 fig. 87 pl. 71.

93 Rotroff 2006, 316–317 no. 686 fig. 87 pl. 71.

94 For the braziers see Rotroff 2006, 200–219 figs. 92–95 pls. 74–87.

95 See Peignard 1997; further assemblages from the Mithridatian destruction of Delos can be added, compare e. g. Zapheiropoulou – Chatzidakis 1994, see esp. the table p. 247 fig. 1.

96 Kögler 2010, 68–72 figs. 16–32 pls. 11–22 (Fundkomplex E).

97 See e. g. Hayes 1991, 131–141 figs. 46–49 (AΛ Deposit); 143–146 fig. 50 (BZ Deposit).

98 It is the stamp of the Duoviri Artemon and Aristocles from the magistrate period of Agias, with a double ax as an emblem. Other stamps were preserved on the Rhodian amphora and on those of the Lamboglia 2 type; the publication of the material is in preparation by B. Lahi.

99 See Oettel 2010, 34; Oettel 2015, 243; Oettel 2014, 460. 464.

city, in which the building in area B was destroyed, is connected with the civil wars and the re-fortification of Lissos by Caesar around 49–44 BCE.

The Local Fabric

It should be mentioned at this point that a series of 100 fragments were chemically analyzed in connection with the research work on the types and the chronology[100]. The majority of the material comes from local production, which is also confirmed by the discovery of a pottery tool and wasters[101]. A small group of fragments could be isolated as non-local and of unknown origin; these pieces and other identified foreign vessels are listed separately in the catalogue.

The fabric of the locally produced tableware and cookware appears extremely homogeneous. The clay of the tableware is fine-grained and has a dense texture; it usually contains some fine mica and lime inclusions, sometimes also tiny dark/black particles. The easy breakability of the fragments is characteristic. The clay-surface is carefully smoothed, especially on the outside of the vessel, and feels silky. The colours of the clay vary from light beige to pale pinkish-brown, and even gray-fired vessels are not uncommon. By dipping the vessels were covered with a thin clay slip, the consistency and colour of which changes during the course of development (see the explanations in the discussions of the groups). The early Hellenistic vessels are predominantly covered with a matt or slightly shiny black, which still covers the clay surface well. Over time, colourfully spotted, thinner coatings in numerous red or orange-brown shades appear, which then predominate in late Hellenism. In this latest Hellenistic phase, uniformly reddish-brown coated vessels appear in response to the arrival of Eastern Sigillata in Lissos. The vessels are usually not completely covered with a slip. In the case of middle and late Hellenistic vessels in particular, the coating is limited to the necessary parts: open forms have coating on the inside and the outer rim zone, closed ones have coating only in the area of the mouth and on the upper part of the outside.

The cookware is strikingly thin-walled. The clay has a fine, dense to slightly porous texture and usually contains fine mica in moderate amounts. In addition, small white lime inclusions and quartz particles can be found here regularly. The surface of the vessels is also carefully smoothed, though they feel slightly rough, in contrast to the fine ware. Household vessels share these characteristics, but do usually not contain quartz inclusions.

100 See provisionally Daszkiewicz et al. 2017. The results will be presented in detail within the forthcoming typology.

101 See Shehi 2010, 58.

Catalogue

All drawings are reproduced in a scale of 1 : 3. The dimensions in the catalogue are given in cm. The colour values for clay and coating given in brackets were determined using the ›Munsell soil color charts‹.

Group A (fig. 1–5)

Tableware

A.1. Attic-type skyphos (figs. 1–2)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-001
Sample no. MD 4486
D. rim 10,2; D. foot 3,2; H. 10.
Several fragments of rim, wall, handle and foot.
Clay without visible inclusions, cinnamon-brown (7.5 YR 6/6), surface reddish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4–8/6).
Vessel almost completely coated, the underside of the foot except for thin strips on the edge of the base-ring and finger-wide strips on the outside above the base-ring are left out, thin, unevenly applied, blotchy, opaque to translucent, smooth, black with dark brown spots(10 YR 3/4).

A.2. Attic-type skyphos (figs. 1–2)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-015
Sample no. MD 4490
D. foot 2,2; pres. H. 4,8.
Several fragments of foot and wall.
Clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4–6).
Vessel nearly completely coated, base and lower part of the wall left out, mostly dense and opaque, slightly shiny, smooth, black.

A.3. Kantharos (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-013
Sample no. MD 4489
D. rim 9,5; pres. H. 5,4–6,9.
Two fragments of rim and four of wall.
Clay without visible inclusions, beige (7.5 YR 7/6).
Pres. fragments completely coated, worn outside, dull and mostly opaque; black with beige spots.
Decoration: vertical grooves on the body of the vessel below the rim.

A.4. Kantharos (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-018
D. foot 1,7; pres. H. 3,3.
Part of lower body with beginning of foot.
Clay without visible inclusions, beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface light beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Vessel almost completely coated, narrow strip of the wall around the base left out, slightly shiny, smooth, dense, opaque, black.
Decoration: vertical ribbing on lower body.

A.5. Kantharos (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-005
D. rim 11,5; pres. H. 3,2.
Fragments of rim and wall.
Clay without visible inclusions; pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4).
All fragments completely coated, dense, opaque, shiny, black.
Decoration: West Slope style, ivy tendril on the rim zone, stem as a fine scrached line, ivy leaves painted on both sides of it, chipped, only recognizable in shadows.

A.6. Kantharos/chytridion (figs. 1–2)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-002
Sample no. MD 4528
D. rim 6,4; D. base 4,4?; H. 8,9.
Several fragments of rim, wall, handle and base.
Clay with mica and some lime inclusions; pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4), slightly darker on the surface.
Dull and mostly dense black coat inside, only some traces on outside.

A.7. Skyphos/kantharos (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-025
Sample no. MD 4488
D. foot 4; pres. H. 5,9.
Almost complete foot with part of the wall, several fragments.
Clay with some mica and lime inclusions, brown (5 YR 5/6).
Vessel completely coated, shiny, black with dark brown spots (5 YR 3/3).
Decoration: vertical ribbing.

A.8. Bowl with interior decoration (fig. 1–2)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-019
D. rim not measurable; pres. H. ca. 2,2.
Small rim fragment.
Clay without visible inclusions, brown (7.5 YR 6/6).
Fragment completely coated, thin, dull, dense smooth, black.
Decoration: West Slope style, thin double scratch line on the inside under the lip, including two rows of closely spaced, scratched commas, possibly small leaves of a garland (laurel?), tiny remnants of the middle stroke/stem pres., hardly visible.

A.9. Bowl with incurved rim (fig.1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-033
Sample no. MD 4467
D. rim 10,5; pres. H. 2,3.
Rim fragment.
Clay with some lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface light beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Black to dark brown (7.5 YR 3/4) coating, dense and dull, slightly shining inside.

A.10. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-035
D. rim 11; pres. H. 1,2.
Rim fragment.
Clay with some fine mica, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4).
Fragment completely covered with thin, dull and smooth coating, black.

A.11. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-012
D. rim 6; pres. H. 1,7.
Rim fragment.
Clay with some lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Fr completely covered with thin, dull coating, black.

A.12. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-020
D. rim 14; pres. H. 3,7.
Two frs. of rim.
Slightly micaceous clay, beige (7.5 YR 7/4), surface light beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Black coating with brown spots (7.5 YR 4/6), thin, dull, slightly shiny inside.

A.13. Bowl (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-027
D. foot 2,4; pres. H. 1,6.
Complete base.
Clay with fine mica and some lime inclusions, yellow brown (7,5 YR 6/6), surface pale beige (7,5YR 8/4).
Some remains of black to dark brown coating.

A.14. Bowl with invurved rim (fig. 1)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-011
D. rim 17; pres. H. 4,7.
Fragments of rim and wall.
Clay with some lime inclusions, reddish-brown (5 YR 5/8), surface pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/8).
Thin, dull and partially translucent coating, black to dark brown (5 YR 4/4-6).

A.15. Plate, rolled rim (figs. 1–2)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-022
Sample no. MD 4466
D. rim 10,8; D. foot 5; H. 2,1
Approx. two-thirds of the vessel with rim and foot.
Micaceous clay, pinkish-brown (7.5 YR 7/4), surface light beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Plate almost completely coated except underside of foot; black, reddish-brown disc on inside (7.5 YR 5/6)
Decoration: concentric groove in the centre of the inside.

A.16. Plate (figs. 1–2)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-021
Sample no. MD 4533
D. foot 8; pres. H. 1,7.

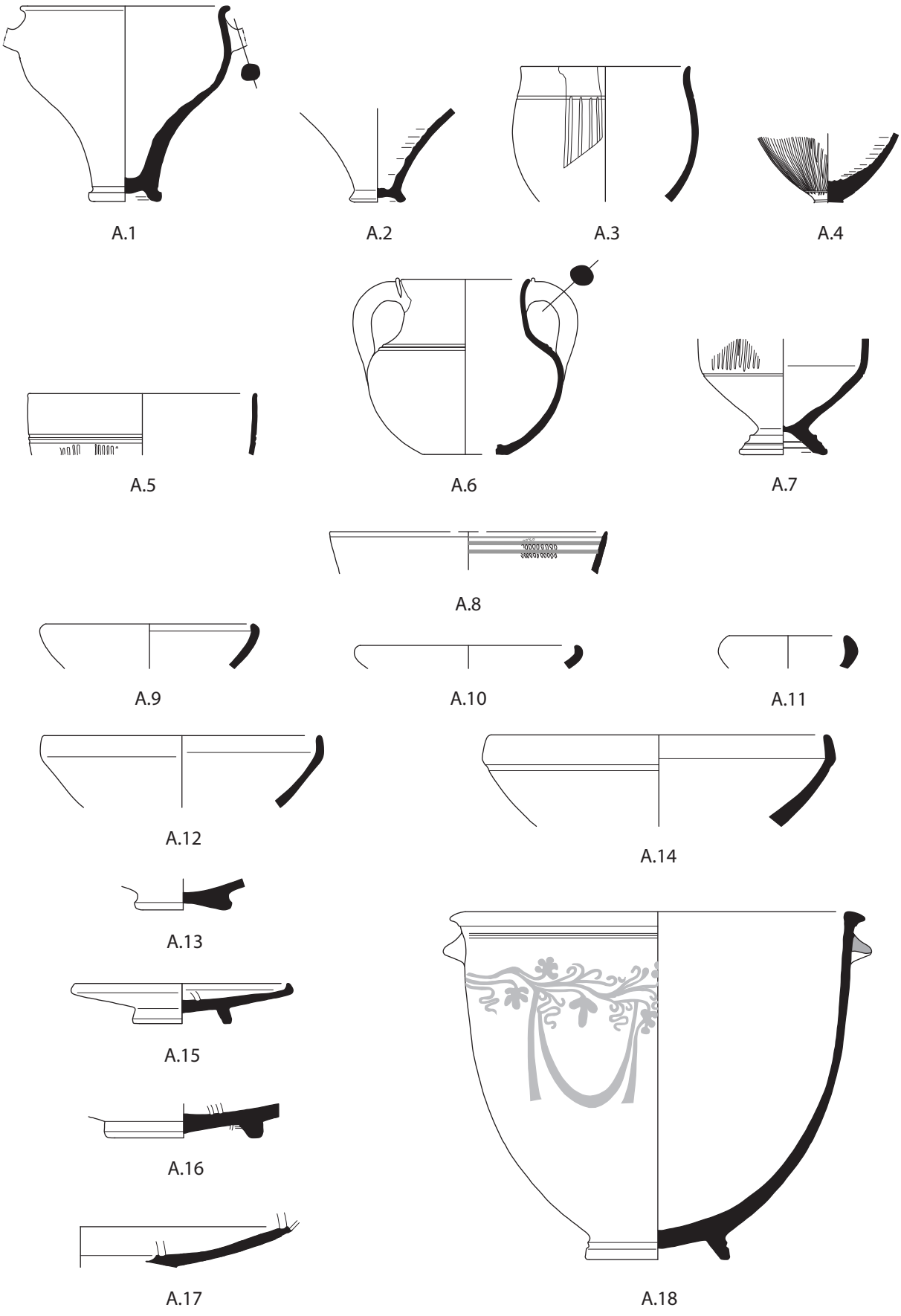


Fig. 1 : Group A. Tableware (M 1 : 3).

Foot fragment.
Highly micaceous clay with some lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4), surface light beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Black coating inside, dense and slightly shining.
Decoration: two concentric grooves in centre of inside.

A.17. Fish plate (figs. 1–2)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-026
Sample no. MD 4530
D. rim 21; pres. H. 2,1.
Three fragments of wall with part of rim.
Highly micaceous clay, beige (7.5 YR 6/6).
Fragments completely coated, dense, opaque, slightly shiny, black with brown spots (7.5 YR 4/4)

A.18. Krater (figs. 1–2)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-003
Sample no. MD 4487
D. rim 19,2; D. foot 6,5; H. 17,6.
Several fragments of rim, wall and foot, one handle, almost half of the vessel.
Clay brown (7,5 YR 6/8, surface 7.5 YR 7/8).
Almost completely coated except underside of foot, dense, opaque, shiny, black.
Decoration: Gnathia style, painted large wine tendril with ribbons, probably monochrome, colour completely chipped.

A.19. Amphora (figs. 2–3)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-038
Sample no. MD 4529
D. rim 8,4; pres. H. 12,9.
Almost complete rim with parts of the handles.
Micaceous clay with some lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6–5/6).
Some remains of thin, dull slip; reddish- to orange-brown (5 YR 5/8).

A.20. Jug (fig. 3)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-014
D. rim 9,5; pres. H. 3,9.
Rim fragment with part of handle.
Slightly micaceous clay with some lime inclusions, beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface light beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Traces of pinkish-brown slip (2.5 YR 6/8).

A.21. Jug (fig. 3)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-032
D. rim 12; pres. H. 2,5.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay, beige (10 YR 7/4).
Some remains of thin and dull coating, dark brown (10 YR 4/6).

A.22. Unguentarium (figs. 2–3)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-023
D. foot 1,8; pres. H. 6,5.
Almost complete vessel, mouth and part of foot missing.
Clay with fine mica, beige (7.5 YR 7/4), surface light beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Dense and dull, partialy shining slip on upper part of vessel, black with dark brown spots (7.5 YR 4/4).
Also pres.: Foot of another unguentarium (Object no. LI-A-BF0549-036).

A.23. Closed vessel (fig. 3)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-010
D. base 10,5; pres. H. 1,5.
Base fragment.
Micaceous clay, beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface light beige (10 YR 8/4–5)
Some remains of thin, dull, dark brown slip on the inside.

A.24. Open vessel (fig. 4)

Object no. LI-A-BF0549-041
ca. 2,3 × 1,2.
Small fragment of wall.
Clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-brown (7.5 YR 7/4).
Thin and slightly shining black slip.
Decoration: West Slope style, incised band of waves between horizontal scratched lines.

A.25. Closed vessel (fig. 4)

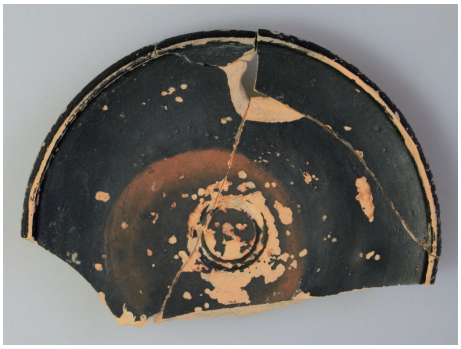
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-039
Fragment of neck and shoulder.
Slightly micaceous clay, one big lime inclusion, pink (2.5 YR 7/4).
Thick, dense and opaque black coating on the outside, slightly shining.
Decoration: West Slope style, on the shoulder scratched horizontal double line, below incised wavy chain with white painted

A.1

A.2

A.6

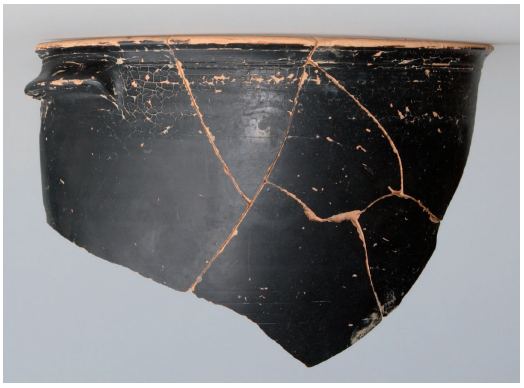
A.8



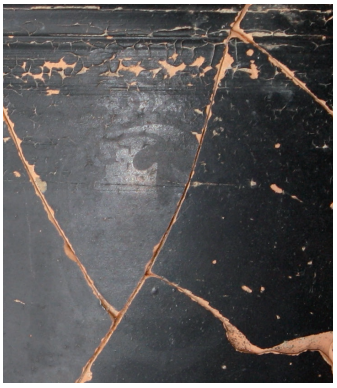
A.15

A.16

A.17



A.18



A.18 Detail

A.19

A.19

A.22

Fig. 2:
Group A. Tableware.

pendants (dots), most of the painted decoration flaked off.

A.26. Closed vessel (fig. 4)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-040
ca. 5,7 × 3,3.
Wall fragment.
Slightly micaceaous clay, fine and dense texture, pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 6/6), surface orange-brown (7.5 YR 7/6).
Some traces of thin slip on the inside(?).
Decoration: most of the fragment covered with black painted rhombus grid, underneath uneven lines of further painted decoration, probably figurative.

Household and cooking ware

A.27. Jug/amphora (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-028
D. rim 10; pres. H. 1,8.
Rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, beige (10 YR 8/2), somewhat lighter on the surface.

A.28. Jug/amphora (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-029
D. rim 13,5; pres. H. 3,2.
Rim fragment.
Clay without visible inclusions, beige (10 YR 6/6), somewhat lighter on the surface.

A.29. Jug/amphora (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-030
D. base 9; pres. H. 2,6.
Base fragment.
Highly micaceous clay, yellowish-brown (10 YR 5/4), surface light beige (near to 10 YR 8/4).
Some remains of a white slip (10 YR 8/1) with traces of painted decoration, only some dots preserved, orange-brown (7.5 YR 6/8).
Whiteground ware?

A.30. Jug/amphora (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-031
D. base 12,5; pres. H. 7.
Base fragment.
Micaceous clay with lime inclusions, relatively soft, crumbles when broken, yellowish-brown (10 YR 6/6), somewhat lighter on the surface. Some spots of orange-brown slip.

A.31. Jug/amphora (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-016
D. base 10,5; pres. H. 2,4.
Base fragment.
Clay with lime inclusions and many fine quartz particles, perforated surface with many cracked bubbles, brown (5YR 5/8) with light gray core (5 YR 5/1), surface pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/8).

A.32. Jar (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-009
D. foot 12; pres. H. 2,3.
Foot fragment.
Micaceous clay with some lime inclusions.

A.33. Chytra (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-024
Sample no. MD 4507
D. rim 10,4; pres. H. 5,2.
Fragments of rim and handle.
Clay soft, peels off in layers (inside), fine, dense to slightly porous; much fine mica, numerous quartz inclusions, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/6, surface 5 YR 5/6).

A.34. Chytra (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-006
D. rim 19,5; pres. H. 2,2.
Rim fragment.
Clay easily breakable, crumbling, fine and dense texture; fine mica, occasional lime inclusions, numerous tiny quartz particles, dark brown (2.5 YR 4/2), surface on inside grayish-brown (2.5 YR 5/1), on outside orange-brown (2.5 YR 6/8).

A.35. Lopas (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-007
Sample no. MD 4512
D. rim 23; pres. H. 3.
Rim fragment.
Clay fine, slightly porous texture, easily breakable, crumbling; lime inclusions, fine mica, dark reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/6), surface inside reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/6), outside dark brown (7.5 YR 4/4) to black.

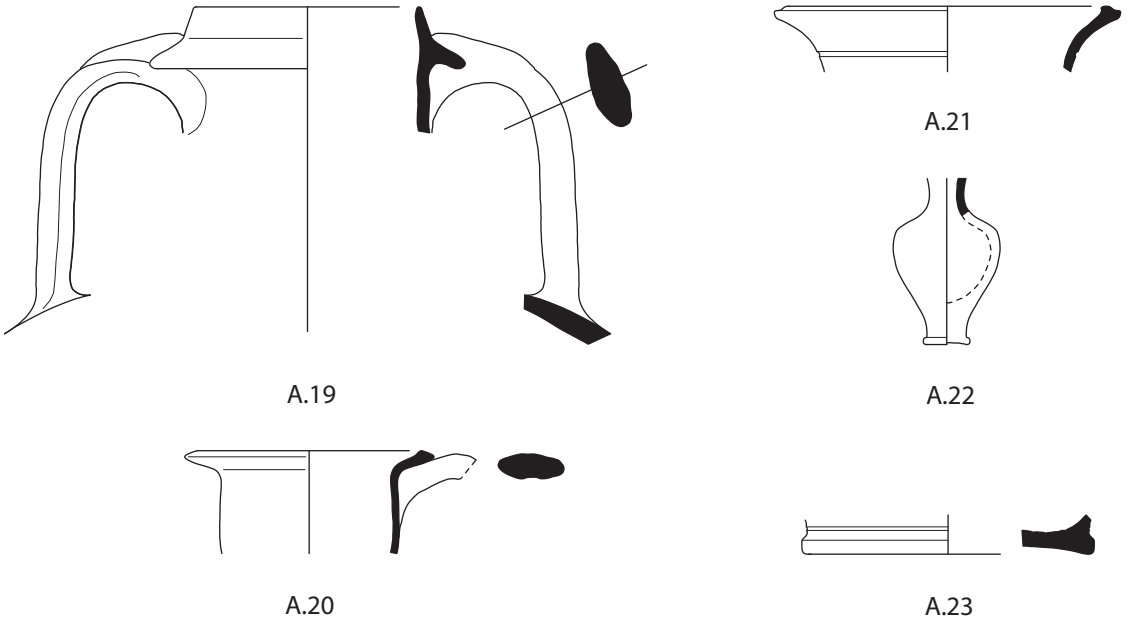


Fig. 3 : Group A. Tableware (M 1 : 3)

Fig. 4 : Group A. Tableware.

A.36. Pan (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-037
D. base 22; pres. H. 1,3.
Base fragment.
Highly micaceous clay with many lime particles, reddish-brown (5 YR 4/6), surface burned on outside.

Non-local pottery

A.37. Bowl (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-004
Sample no. MD 4531
D. base 6,2; pres. H. 4,5.
Two fragments of base.
Fine, micaceous clay with occacional lime inclusions, brown (7.5 YR 5/8), somewhat lighter on the surface (5 YR 6/6–6/8).
Coating inside, thin, dull, black to dark brown (5 YR 4/4).

A.38. Jar (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-008
Sample no. MD 4502
D. foot 8; pres. H. 3,2.
Base fragment.
Relatively hard, fine clay with dense texture, smoothed surface, isolated lime inclusions, very little fine mica, reddish-beige (5 YR 6/8) with light gray core (2.5 YR 5/1), surface pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/8).

A.39. Chytra (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-034
Sample no. MD 4522
D. rim 11; pres. H. 3.
Rim fragment.
Clay hard, crumbles when broken, porous, compact, rough surface, lime inclusions and quartz particles, dark brown (near to 7.5 YR 3/1), somewhat lighter on the surface.

A.40. Cooking pot? (fig. 5)
Object no. LI-A-BF0549-017
Sample no. MD 4532
D. rim 17; pres. H. 7,2.
Rim fragment.
Clay fine, dense texture, relatively hard, crumbles when broken; surface polished inside and outside, smooth, lime inclusions, numerous small and large quartz inclusions and pebbles, dark brown (5 YR 4/6), surface beige to reddish-beige (5 YR 6/6–7.5 YR 6/6).
Hand-modeled ware, probably Iron Age, traditional ceramics (R. Breuer).
Also pres.: fragment of another hand-modeled vessel (Object no. LI-A-BF0549-044).

Group B (figs. 6–13)

Tableware

B.1. Kantharos (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-019
Sample no. MD 4458
D. rim ca. 9,6; pres. H. 4,1.
Rim fragment with beginning of vertical loop-handle.
Relatively soft clay, highly micaceous, beige (10 YR 8/4–7/4).
Dull, rough slip with mica, dark brown (10 YR 4/3–3/3).
Decoration: traces of painted decoration on the rim, with vertical grooves below.

B.2. Kantharos (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-010
Sample no. MD 4455
D. rim 7,3; D. foot 4,9; H. 11,2.
Several fragments of rim, foot and wall.
Clay without visible inclusions, light beige (10 YR 8/3–4).
Completely coated except foot and lower wall, thin, dull, rough, dark brown (5 YR 4/2–4).
Decoration: Groups of vertical grooves, below the handles scratched cross.

B.3. Kantharos (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-011
Sample no. MD 4452
D. rim 7; pres. H. 8,1.
Several rim fragments with part of handle.
Highly micaceous clay, small lime inclusions, light brown (5 YR 6/1) with dark core.

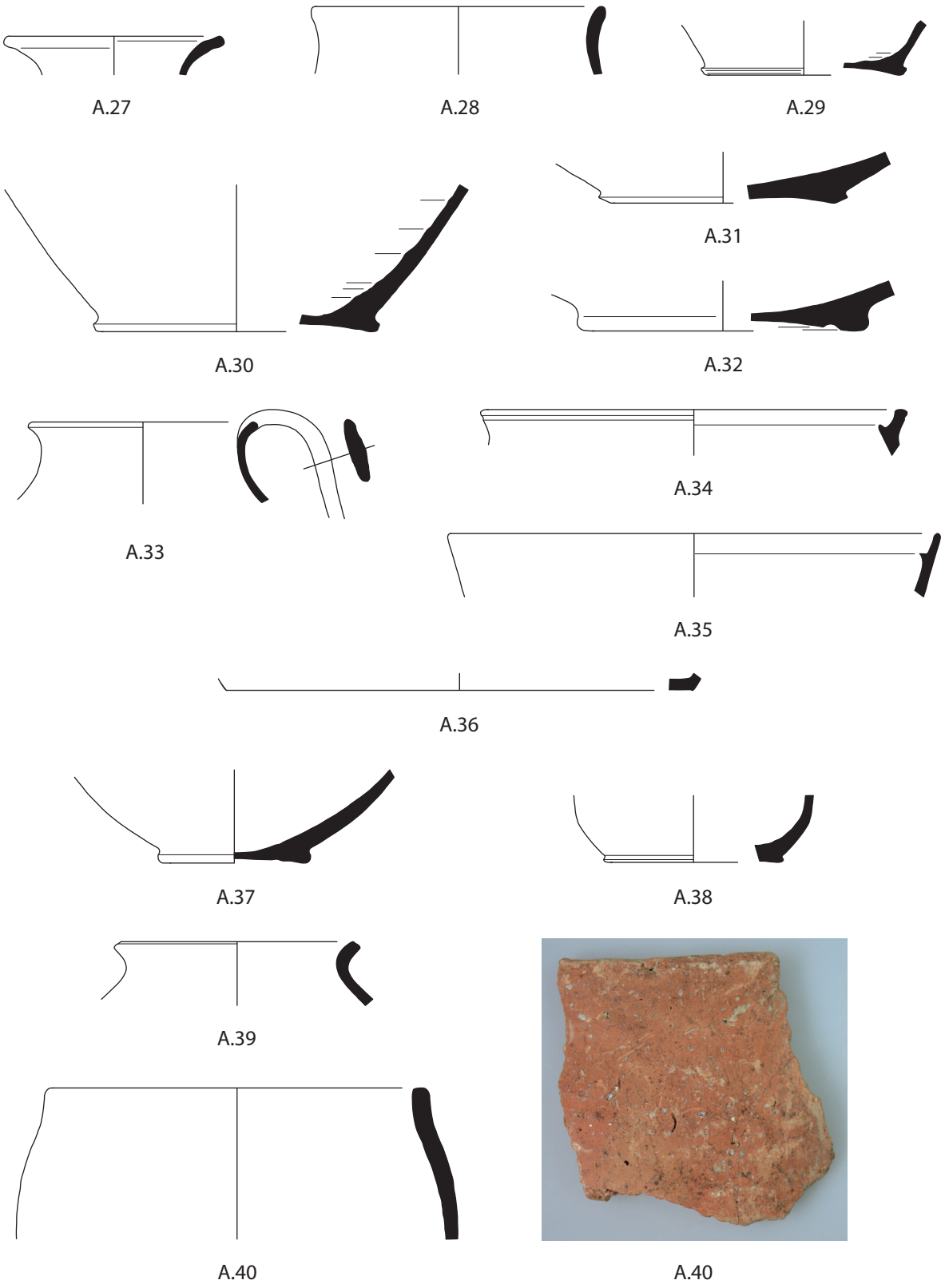


Fig. 5: Group A. Household and cooking ware, non-local pottery (M 1 : 3).

Dull and rough black slip, partialy brown spots (7,5 YR 5/3).

B.4. Kantharos (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-016
Sample no. MD 4469
D. rim 9; pres. H. 4,5.
Rim fragment.
Clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (10 YR 7/4).
Dull, rough black slip, slightly metallic reflecting on the inside.

B.5. Kantharos (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-018
Sample no. MD 4457
D. rim 9,5; pres. H. 2,3.
Rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, beige (10 YR 8/3).
Dull, rough black slip, dark brown (5 YR 3/4) on inside.
Decoration: some traces of painted decoration on outside, leaf tendril(?), worn.

B.6. Skyphos/kantharos (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-043
Sample no. MD 4527
D. foot 4,3; pres. H. 1,4.
Two fragments of high foot.
Clay with some mica, fine, dense texture, surface roughly smoothed with many grooves, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4, surface 7.5 YR 7/3).
Pres. fragments completely unslipped.

B.7. Bowl with interior decoration (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-006
Sample no. MD 4476
D. rim 10,2; D. foot 3,8; H. 7,3.
Fragments of rim, wall and foot.
Clay without visible inclusions, pale orange (7,5 YR 7/6–8/6, surface 7,5 YR 8/6).
Almost completely coated except foot and lower part of wall, mostly dull, partially shiny (metallic), black.
Decoration: slight grooves on inside and outside of the rim, not to be drawn; on inside, former painting, completely chipped, somewhat white stripes below the middle, accompanied on both sides by darker stripes; thin painted stripe around the centre of the floor.

B.8. Bowl (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-015
Sample no. MD 4477
D. rim 9,5; pres. H. 2,3.
Small rim fragment.
Clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-brown/orange (7,5 YR 7/6).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, dull, slightly metallic reflecting on the inside, opaque, rough, dark brown to black.

B.9. Bowl with interior decoration (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-022
Sample no. MD 4459
D. rim 12,8; pres. H. 2,4.
Rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, relatively soft, beige (10 YR 7/3).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, slighly micaceous, thin, dull, black, brown spots inside (7,5 YR 6/6).
Decoration: traces of former painting on the inside, broad clay-grounded stripe bordered by fine black lines, row of notches (rouletting), black line, row of painted black commas, another clay-grounded stripe with black lines.

B.10. Bowl with interior decoration (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-024
Sample no. MD 4460
D. rim 17,8; pres. H. 2,4.
Small rim fragment.
Clay relatively soft, fine, lime inclusions, some mica, beige (10 YR 7/3).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, worn, thin and dull, black to dark brown.
Decoration: on inside, about 1 cm below the lip row of notches (rouletting), below numerous slight grooves.

B.11. Bowl (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-047
Sample no. MD 4493
D. foot 4; pres. H. 3,1.
Foot fragment.
Clay highly micaceous, some lime inclusions, light gray to grayish-beige (10 YR 7/1–2).

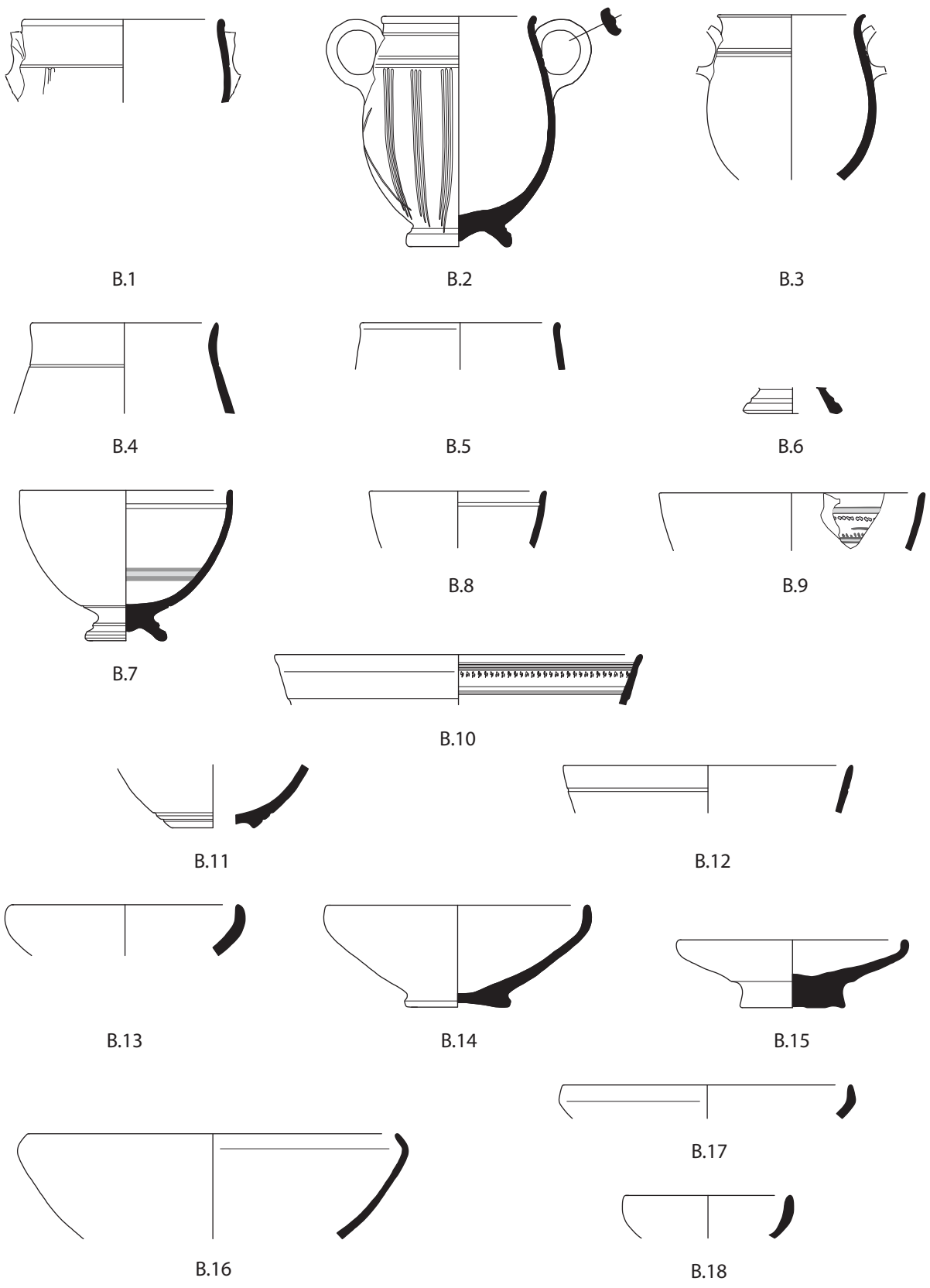


Fig. 6 : Group B. Tableware (M 1 : 3).

Pres. fragment completely slipped, partially worn, thin, dull, black.

B.12. Bowl with painted decoration (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-074
Sample no. MD 4504
D. rim 14; pres. H. 2,3.
Rim fragment.
Clay with fine mica, beige (10 YR 7/2).
Traces of thin, translucent, dull slip all over the pres. fragment, dark brown to black.
Decoration: on inside and outside traces of painted decoration, worn.

B.13. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-020
Sample no. MD 4491
D. rim 11; pres. H. 2,5.
Rim fragment.
Relatively soft clay, some fine dark particles, lime inclusions, grayish-beige (10 YR 8/1–7/1).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, mostly worn on the outside, thin, rough, dull, black.

B.14. Bowl with incurved rim (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-004
Sample no. MD 4474
D. rim 13,2; D. base ca. 5; H. 5.
Half of the vessel with complete base and part of rim.
Clay with some dark particles, pinkish-beige (7,5 YR 7/4), surface somewhat lighter (near to 7,5 YR 7/3 or 8/3).
Inside and rim on the outside covered with thin, dull slip, black.
Base not in the centre of the vessel.

B.15. Bowl with incurved rim (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-002
Sample no.: MD 4454
D. rim 10,4; D. foot 5; H. 3,3.
Three quarters of the vessel, parts of rim, foot and wall.
Clay with many small and some large lime inclusions, mica, fine dark particles, beige (10 YR 7/4–7,5 YR 8/2).
Slip mostly worn, traces on inside and on outside of rim, applied unevenly, blotchy, partly dense and opaque, partly thin and translucent, dull, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/6).

B.16. Bowl with incurved rim (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-026
Sample no. MD 4480
D. rim 18; pres. H. 5,2.
Rim fragments.
Slightly micaceous clay, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/4. 6, surface 7.5 YR 7/4).
Foot and lower part of body unslipped, dull to partially shiny, opaque coating, black to dark brown (near to 7,5 YR 5/8).

B.17. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 6)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-041
D. rim 14; pres. H. 1,7.
Rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, beige (7,5 YR 7/3).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, mostly worn, thin, dull, black.

B.18. Bowl with incurved rim (figs. 6–7)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-052
D. rim 8; pres. H. 2,1.
Rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/4).
Inside and rim on the outside slipped, thin dull coating, translucent and blotchy, black to dark brown.

B.19. Bowl (fig. 8. 10)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-032
D. base 3,8; pres. H. 1,7.
Complete base.
Clay with some dark particles, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/3).
Slipped inside, dull, rough, blotchy, thin, black to dark brown.
Decoration: Spiral incised in the centre of inside before applying the coating.

B.20. Bowl (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-031
D. base 4,9; pres. H. 1,8.
Almost complete base.
Clay relatively soft, crumbles when scratched, underside of the floor wiped with a comb or brush, some mica, beige (10 YR 6/6), surface pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/3–4).
Slipped on inside, partially chipped off, thin, dull, black.

B.1

B.2

B.2

B.3

B.7

B.9

B.10

B.14

B.15

B.16

B.18

Fig. 7 : Group B. Tableware.

B.21. Bowl (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-028
Sample no. MD 4461
D. base 4,2; pres. H. 2.
Complete base.
Slightly micaceous clay, some lime inclusions, grayis-beige (7,5 YR 7/1–2), surface somewhat darker (10 YR 7/3).
Slipped inside, dull, blotchy, black to dark brown (7.5 YR 3/4).

B.22. Bowl (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-027
D. base 4,8; pres. H. 1,6.
Base fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, adhering clay lumps, pinkish-beige (7,5 YR 7/4), surface somewhat lighter.
Slipped on inside, relatively thick and opaque coating, dull to slightly shiny, black.

B.23. Bowl (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-023
D. rim ca. 12; pres. H. 1,3.
Small rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, relatively soft, beige (10 YR 7/3).
Coat almost completely worn, black?

B.24. Bowl with upturned rim (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-008
Sample no. MD 4471
D. rim 27,6; pres. H. 6,6.
Several fragments of rim and wall.
Clay with some black particles, pinkish-brown (5 YR 7/6–6/6), surface somewhat lighter.
Slip on inside and on outside of rim, thin, dull, rough, blotchy, black to dark brown.

B.25. Bowl with upturned rim (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-014
D. rim 22,5; pres. H. 2,6.
Rim fragments.
Clay with some dark particles, pinkish-brown (5 YR 7/6–6/6).
Slip on inside and on outside of rim, dull, rough, opaque, black to dark brown.

B.26. Bowl (figs. 8. 10)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-034
Sample no. MD 4492
D. base 2,8; pres. H. 1,5.
Complete base.
Slightly micaceoua clay, some lime particles, light gray (10 YR 7/1–6/1).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thick, dull and opaque black coating.

B.27. Bowl (figs. 8. 10)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-029
D. base 3,6; pres. H. 2,1.
Complete base.
Slightly micaceous clay, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/3), surface beige (10 YR 7/3).
Slip on inside, relatively thick, opaque, dull to slightly reflecting, rough, black.

B.28. Plate with rolled rim (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-038
Sample no. MD 4483
D. rim 9,8; pres. H. 1,6.
Rim fragment.
Clay with some mica, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/2).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin, translucent, dull, rough, dark reddish-brown (5 YR 4/6–3/3).

B.29. Plate with rolled rim (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-042
D. rim 11,6; pres. H. 1.
Small rim fragment.
Clay with some reddish-brown particles, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, dull, rough, opaque, black.

B.30. Plate with rolled rim (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-035
D. rim 8,5; pres. H. 1,1.
Small rim fragment.
Clay without visible inclusions, grayish-beige (10 YR 7/2).
Pres. fragment almost completely covered with thin, dull black coating.

B.31. Plate with rolled rim (fig. 8)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-039
Sample no. MD 4484
D. rim 9,8; pres. H. 1,3.
Small rim fragment.

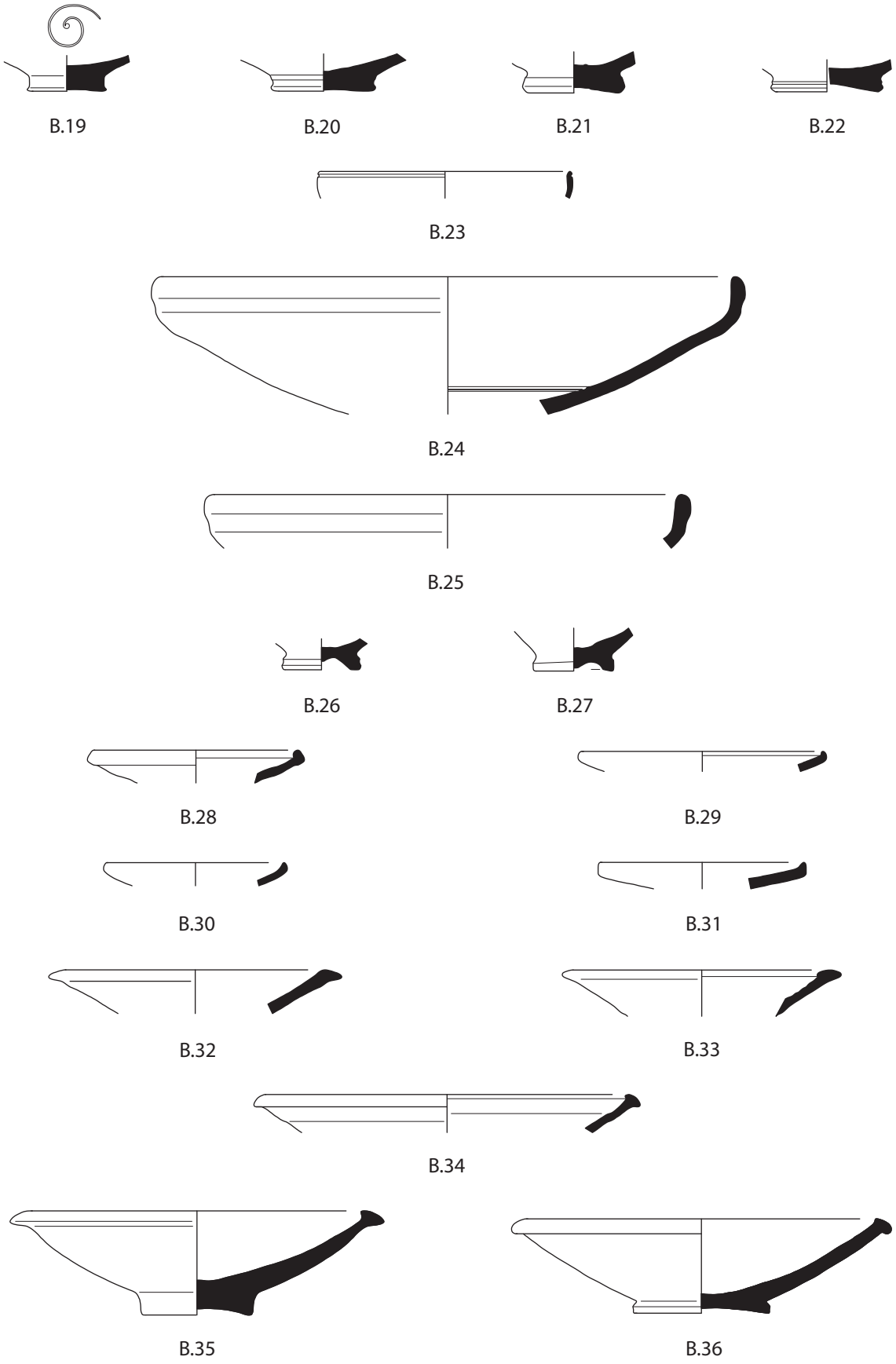


Fig. 8 : Group B. Tableware (M 1 : 3).

Highly micaceous clay, some lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/4, surface 7.5 YR 7/4).
Slip on inside and outside of rim, mostly worn, thin, dull, orange-brown (2.5 YR 6/8).

B.32. Plate with thickened rim (figs. 8. 10)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-049
Sample no. MD 4482
D. rim 12,5; pres. H. 2,2.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay with some dark particles and lime inclusions, beige-orange (5 YR 6/4), surface somewhat darker (5 YR 6/6).
Slip on inside with drops running down outside, partially worn, thin, dull, rough, light reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/8).

B.33. Plate with thickened rim (fig. 8)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-040
Sample no. MD 4524
D. rim 12,4; pres. H. 2,2.
Rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/2, surface 7.5 YR 7/3).
Slip on inside and on outside of rim, dull, opaque, rough, black.

B.34. Plate with thickened rim (fig. 8)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-036
Sample no. MD 4464
D. rim 17,5; pres. H. 1,9.
Small rim fragment.
Clay without visible inclusions, beige (10 YR 7/3).
Slip on inside and on outside of rim, dull, blotchy, translucent, black.

B.35. Plate with thickened rim (figs. 8. 10)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-007
Sample no.: MD 4472
D. rim 15,5; D. foot 4,9; H. 5,1.
Nearly half of the vessel with complete base and part of rim.
Clay with some lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7,5 YR 7/4, surface 5 YR 7/4).
Slip on inside and on outside of rim, rough, dull, opaque, black to dark brown.
Hole below the rim, closed with clay lumps.

B.36. Plate with thickened rim (fig. 8)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-005
Sample no. MD 4475
D. rim 16,6; D. base 5,6; H. 4,5.
Large fragment with complete base and part of rim.
Clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (7,5 YR 7/3), surface somewhat lighter.
Slip almost worn, some traces on inside and on upper part of outside (drops running down), thin, dull, rough, black.
Base not in the centre of the vessel.

B.37. Plate with domed rim (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-009
Sample no. MD 4453
D. rim 25; D. foot 9,6; H. 5,3.
Nearly half of the vessel, several fragments of wall, foot, and rim.
Clay with some lime inclusions, beige (10 YR 8/4–7/4, surface 10 YR 8/2–3).
Slip only on inside, mostly worn, thin, dull, rough, dark brown to black.
Foot not in the centre of the vessel.

B.38. Plate with domed rim (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-046
Sample no. MD 4525
D. rim 24,5; pres. H. 4,2.
Rim fragment.
Clay without visible inclusions, beige (10 YR 7/3).
Slip on inside, partially worn, dull, blotchy, thin, translucent, black with brown spots (near to 10 YR 4/4).

B.39. Fish plate (figs. 9–10)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-001
Sample no.: MD 4470
D. rim 18; D. foot 6,6; H. 4.
Almost complete vessel, restored from several fragments, small part of rim missing.
Clay with some large lime inclusions, light pinkish-yellow (5 YR 8/4–7/4), surface somewhat lighter (7,5 YR 8/4–7/4).
Slip on inside, almost worn or chipped off, dull, rough, dark brown (5 YR 5/2–4/2; 7,5 YR 5/2–4/2).

B.40. Kyathos (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-017

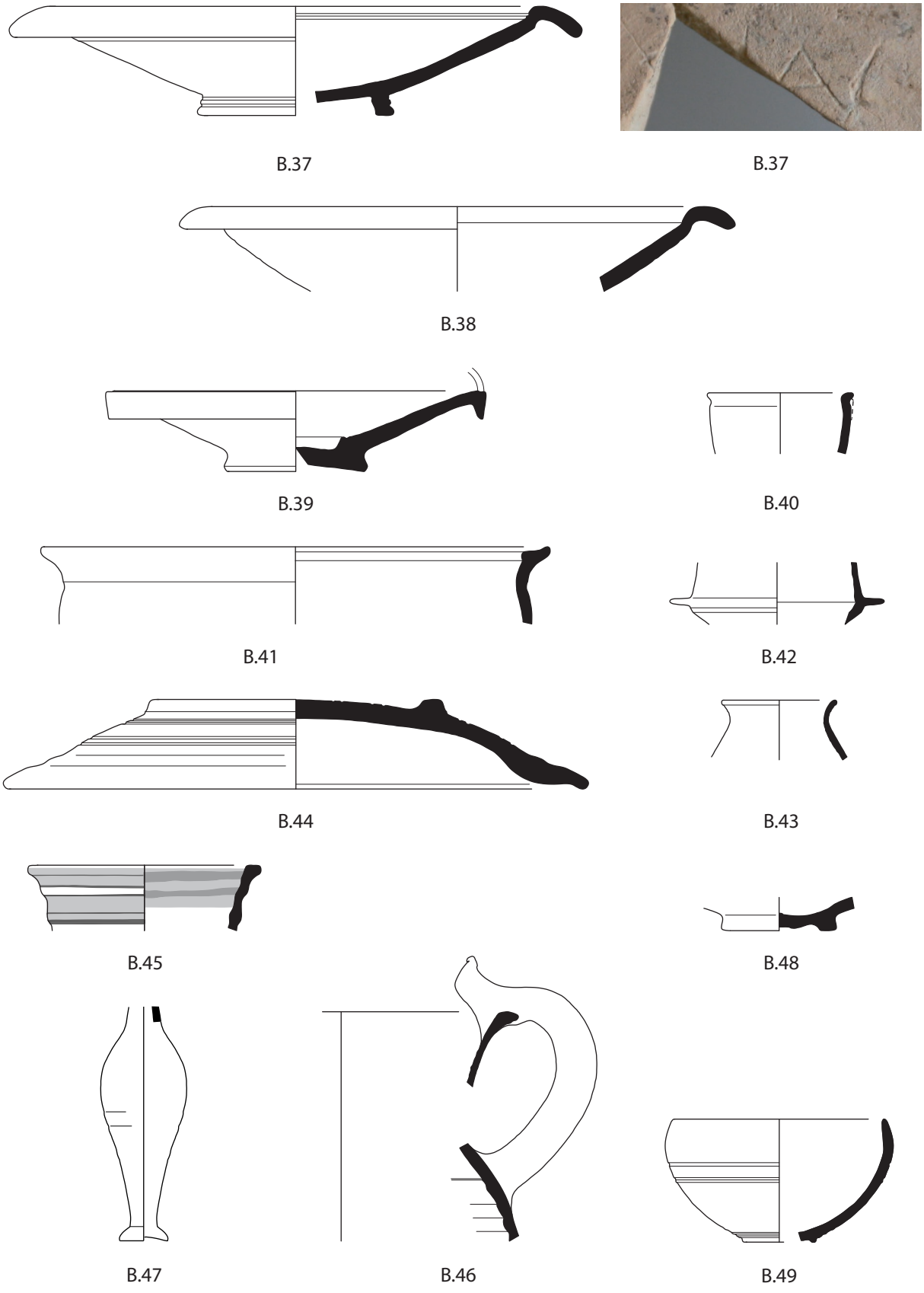


Fig. 9 : Group B. Tableware (M 1 : 3).

Sample no. MD 4478
D. rim 6,8; pres. H. 3.
Rim fragment with beginning of ringhandle.
Clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (7,5 YR 8/4–7/4).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, dull, rough, opaque black coating.

B.41. Krater (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-053
Sample no. MD 4526
D. rim 25; pres. H. 3,9.
Rim fragment.
Slightly micaceous clay, some dark particles, pale gray (5 YR 7/1), surface beige (10 YR 6/3).
Slip on inside, some traces on outside of rim, dull, opaque, black, on the upper side of the lip dark brown (7.5 YR 5/3), applied unevenly with a brush.

B.42. Pyxis (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-058
Sample no.: MD 4496
Pres. H. 3,1.
Part of wall.
Slightly micaceous clay, beige (10 YR 8/3–7/3).

B.43. Pyxis (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-055
D. rim 5,5; pres. H. 3.
Rim fragment.
Clay slightly porous, fine mica, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/2), surface light beige (10 YR 8/3).
Slip completely worn.

B.44. Reversible lid (figs. 9–10)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-012
Sample no. MD 4465
D. rim 28,4; D. handle 14; pres. H. 4,4.
Nearly half of the vessel, several fragments of wall, rim and handle.
Clay with some small and large lime inclusions, some fine mica, dark particles, beige (10 YR 8/4), surface somewhat darker (10 YR 7/4).
Some remains of brown to reddish-brown slip on outside.
Decoration: on outside, several pairs of grooves, also on inside of the foot.

B.45. Jug/amphora (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-051
Sample no. MD 4503
D. rim 10,5; pres. H. 3,3.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay with lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/6).
Slip painted in stripes on both sides of the rim, brown (7.5 YR 4/4).
Decoration: on the outside two broad painted brown stripes, accompanied by dark brown lines.

B.46. Oinochoe (figs. 9–10)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-063
Sample no. MD 4497
D. rim 16,5; pres. H. 14,3.
Two rim fragments and one wall fragment with complete handle.
Clay slightly porous, without visible inclusions, beige (10 YR 7/3), surface yellow (2.5 YR 8/3–7/3).

B.47. Unguentarium (figs. 9–10)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-084
D. foot 2,4; pres. H. 11,6; größter D. 4,4.
Almost complete vessel, mouth missing.
Highly micaceous clay with many small and some large lime inclusions, to inside pinkish-brown (5 YR 7/6), to outside beige (7.5 YR 8/3), surface pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside with drops running down, thin, blotchy, opaque, dull, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/8).

B.48. Closed vessel (fig. 9)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-030
Sample no. MD 4462
D. foot 4,9; pres. H. 1,6.
Complete foot.
Highly micaceous clay, some dark particles, grayish-beige (10 YR 7/2).
Drops of slip running down the inside, dull, opaque, dark brown.

B.49. Moldmade bowl (figs. 9–10)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-003
Sample no. MD 4473
D. rim 10,4; D. base 2,6; H. 6,1.
One third of vessel with parts of rim and base.

B.19

B.26

B.27

B.32

B.35

B.39

B.44

B.46

B.47

B.49

Fig. 10 : Group B. Tableware.

Clay with some large lime inclusions, reddish-beige (7,5 YR 7/4).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin, dull, rough and blotchy coating, rim on outside reddish-brown, below dark brown to black, on inside dark beige (2,5 YR 6/6; 7,5 YR 5/3; 7,5 YR 6/4).
Decoration: Ionian kymation, below broad vine tendril with spiral stalk.

Household and Cooking ware

B.50. Large bowl (figs. 11. 13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-013
Sample no. MD 4494
D. rim ca 35; pres. H. 3,6.
Several fragments with parts of rim and handles.
Highly micaceous clay (golden mica) with reddish-brown and dark particles and lime inclusions, poudery clay, light beige (7,5 YR 7/4), surface somewhat lighter (10 YR 7/4).

B.51. Large bowl (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-056
Sample no. MD 4495
D. rim 36; pres. H. 3,5.
Rim fragment.
Clay relatively soft, highly micaceous, some dark particles, smoothed on surface, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4), surface slightly yellowish.
Pair of holes close to the rim.

B.52. Bowl (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-082
Sample no. MD 4499
D. rim 25,5; pres. H. 2,5.
Rim fragment.
Clay relatively soft, smoothed surface, highly micaceous, dark particles and lime inclusions, brown (7.5 YR 6/6).

B.53. Jug/amphora (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-059
Sample no. MD 4498
D. rim 8,7; pres. H. 2,6.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay with fine and dense texture, surface on the outside smoothed, some mica, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/3–7/3), surface somewhat darker.

B.54. Jug/jar (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-050
Sample no. MD 4500
D. rim 17,5; pres. H. 3.
Rim fragment.
Clay with fine and dense texture, surface smoothed, slightly rough, highly micaceous, many dark particles and lime inclusions, grayish-beige (7.5 YR 7/3), surface somewhat lighter (10 YR 7/3).

B.55. Jug/jar (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-057
Sample no.: MD 4456
D. foot 15; pres. H. 5,2.
Foot fragment.
Clay with fine and dense texture, soft, smoothed surface, highly micaceous, some large and many small lime inclusions, beige (10 YR 8/3–7/3, surface 10 YR 7/3).

B.56. Jug (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-044
Sample no. MD 4481
D. foot 4,8; pres. H. 2,2.
Complete foot.
Hard clay, fine and dense texture, surface on the outside carefully smoothed, large and small lime inclusions, some mica, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/4).

B.57. Jug (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-045
D. foot 5; pres. H. 1,6.
Complete foot.
Hard clay, fine and dense texture, surface on the outside carefully smoothed, some mica, some lime inclusions, light beige (10 YR 7/4, surface 10 YR 7/3).

B.58. Chytra (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-073
Sample no. MD 4520
D. rim 18,5; pres. H. 5,2.
Six fragments of rim.
Hard but brittle clay, fine and relatively dense texture, slightly porous, highly micaceous,

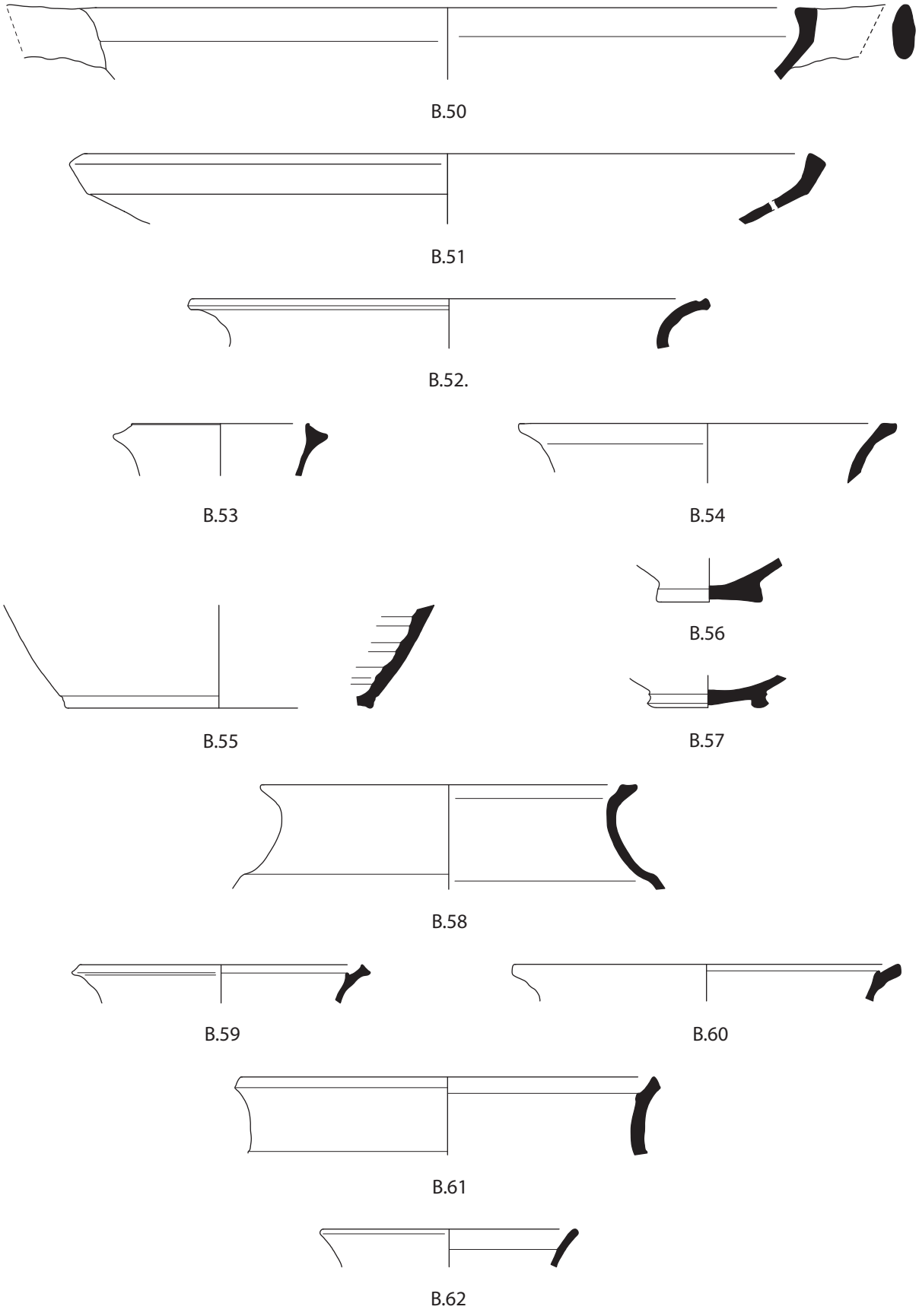


Fig. 11 : Group B. Household and cooking ware (M 1 : 3).

lime inclusions, numerous quartz particles, brown (5 YR 5/8), surface somewhat lighter.

B.59. Chytra (figs. 11. 13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-065
Poben no. MD 4516
D. rim 14; pres. H. 1,9.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, relatively fine, slightly porous, surface rough, highly micaceous, some larger quartz particles, small pebbles, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6), surface somewhat darker (5 YR 5/6).

B.60. Chytra (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-070
Sample no. MD 4511
D. rim 19; pres. H. 1,9.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay, brittle, fine and dense texture, rough surface, brown (2.5 YR 4/6), surface somewhat lighter.

B.61. Chytra (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-066
Sample no. MD 4517
D. rim 20,5; pres. H. 3,9.
Three fragments of rim.
Highly micaceous clay, hard, dense to slightly porous texture, rough surface, some lime inclusions, many quartz particles, tiny pebbles, brown (5 YR 5/6) with gray core (5 YR 6/1), surface yellowish-brown (7.5 YR 6/6).

B.62. Chytra? (fig. 11)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-064
Sample no.: MD 4515
D. rim 12,5; pres. H. 1,9.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, relatively fine, dense to slightly porous texture, rough surface, highly micaceous, small pebbles, dark particles, brown (5 YR 6/6), surface somewhat darker (5 YR 5/8).

B.63. Chytra (fig. 13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-075
Sample no. MD 4521
11 × 7,5; D. 1,7
One complete u-shaped handle and fragment of another.
Highly micaceous clay, brittle, dense to slightly porous texture, relatively fine, lime inclusions, many quartz particles, brown (7.5 YR 5/8), surface somewhat lighter.

B.64. Lopas (figs. 12–13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-071
Sample no. MD 4518
D. rim 25; pres. H. 3,7.
Two rim fragments.
Hard, fine clay, dense texture, slightly brittle, rough surface, micaceous, some lime inclusions, dark brown (5 YR 4/1–3/1, surface 7.5 YR 5/2–4/2).

B.65. Pithos (figs. 12–13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-068
Sample no. MD 4510
D. rim 27,5; pres. H. 6.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay, hard, fine, dense to slightly porous texture, rough surface, lime inclusions, brown (2.5 YR 5/8–6/8) with thin dark gray core, surface light brown (2.5 YR 5/4–5/6), somewhat lighter inside.
Decoration: horizontal grooves on outside.

B.66. Pithos (figs. 12–13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-069
Sample no. MD 4514
D. rim 18; pres. H. 4,7.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay, hard, relatively fine, dense to slightly porous texture, brittle, rough surface, brown (2.5 YR 5/8) with thin grayish-brown layer to the inside.
Decoration: horizontal groove on outside.

B.67. Pithos (fig. 12)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-067
Sample no. MD 4509
D. rim 18,5; pres. H. 2,7.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay, hard, dense to slightly porous texture, rough surface, quartz particles, dark braun (5 YR 3/3) with reddish-brown core (2.5 YR 4/8), surface dark brown, partially pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 5/6).

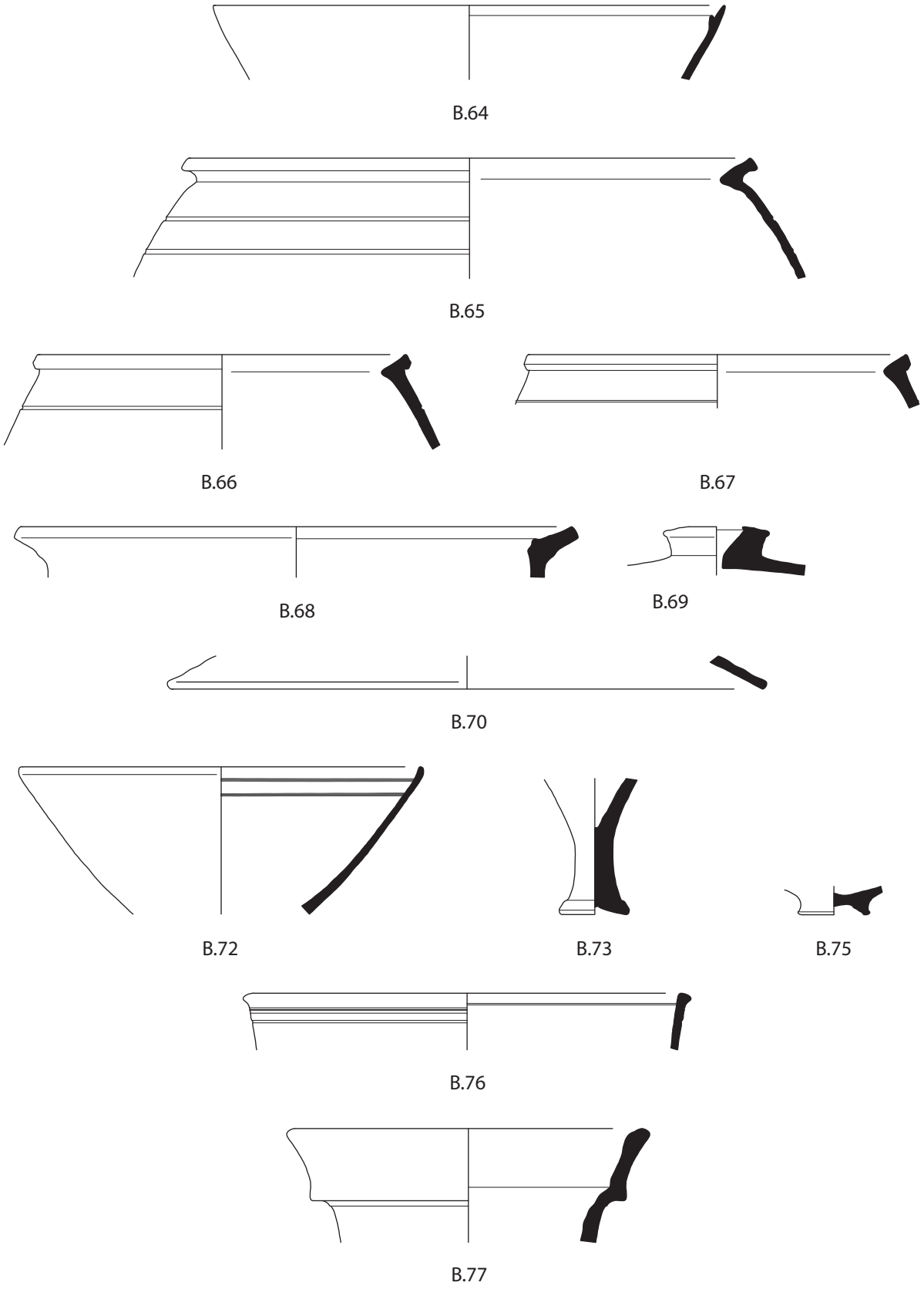


Fig. 12 : Group B. Cooking ware and non-local pottery (M 1 : 3).

B.68. Pithos (fig. 12)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-062
Sample no.: MD 4513
D. rim 27; pres. H. 2,5.
Rim fragment.
Highly micaceous clay, very hard, relatively fine, dense texture, rough surface, quartz particles, some lime inclusions(?), pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6), surface somewhat darker (5 YR 6/6–5/6).

B.69. Lid (figs. 12-13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-072
Sample no.: MD 4519
D. handle 5,2; pres. H. 2,4.
Complete handle.
Hard, brittle clay, relativly fine, dense to slightly porous texture; rough surface, some fine mica, dark grayish-brown (10 YR 5/3), surface outside dark grayish-brown (near to 10 YR 5/2), inside beige (10 YR 7/3).

B.70. Lid (fig. 12)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-061
Sample no. MD 4508
D. rim 29; pres. H. 1,6.
Three rim fragments.
Highly micaceous clay, hard, fine, dense texture, rough surface, some dark particles and a small pebble, to the inside reddish-brown (5 YR 5/6), to the outside grayish-brown (5 YR 5/1), surface black to dark brown, underside of rim reddish-brown (5 YR 5/6).

Lamp

B.71. Lamp (fig. 13)
Object no.: LI-B-BF0254-078
Sample no.: MD 4451
ca. 5 × 2,8.
Underside of nozzle.
Clay without visible inclusions, fine, dense texture, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 5/6).
Pres. fragment completely covered with thin, dull slip, mostly worn, black.

Non-local pottery

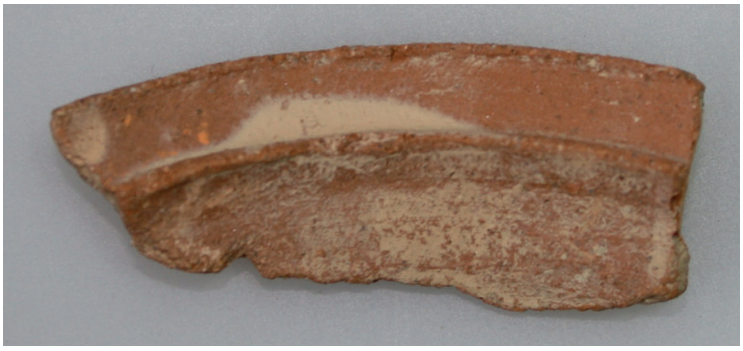
B.72. Bowl (fig. 12)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-025
Sample no. MD 4523
D. rim 19,5; pres. H. 7,2.
Several fragments of rim and wall.
Fine clay with dense texture, relatively soft, some tiny dark and white particles, grayish-beige (10 YR 7/2).
Pres. fragments completely coated, thick and opaque slip, shiny, black.
Decoration: painted decoration on inside, two horizontal reddish-brown stripes.

B.73. Unguentarium (figs. 12–13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-021
Sample no. MD 4479
D. foot 3,3; pres. H. 6,6.
Almost complete foot and part of lower wall.
Very hard and fine clay, dense texture, surface on the outside carefully smoothed, isolated large and some small lime inclusions, some mica, pinkish-beige (7,5 YR 7/4, surface 7,5 YR 7/6).
Slip inside, thin, dull, rough, opaque, slightly peeling, black.

B.74. Unguentarium (fig. 13)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-054
Sample no. MD 4485
Pres. H. 2,9.
Fragment of neck.
Fine and relatively soft clay, dense texture, surface on outside carefully smoothed, highly micaceous, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4), surface somewhat darker.
Slip on inside and upper part of outside, dull, thin, reddish-brown (5 YR 5/8), on inside also dark brown to black.

B.75. Bowl (fig. 12)
Object no. LI-B-BF0254-033
Sample no. MD 4463
D. foot 3; pres. H. 1,4.
Foot fragment.
Fine clay with dense texture, hard, surface on outside carefully smoothes, slightly micaceous, beige (10 YR 7/2).
Slip on inside, dull, rough, thin, opaque, dark brown (5 YR 5/2).

B.51



B.59

B.63

B.64

B.65

B.66

B.69

B.71

B.73

B.74

B.77

Fig. 13 : Group B. Household and cooking ware, lamp, and non-local pottery.

B.76. Krater? (fig. 12)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-037
Sample no. MD 4501
D. rim 21; pres. H. 2,8.
Rim fragment.
Fine clay with dense texture, hard, highly micaceous, dark particles, beige-orange (7.5 YR 7/8, surface 5 YR 7/6–6/6).

B.77. Jug/amphora (figs. 12–13)

Object no. LI-B-BF0254-060
Sample no.: MD 4506
D. rim 17; pres. H. 5,6.
Four fragments of the rim.
Hard, fine clay with dense texture, surface on the outside carefully smoothed, highly micaceous, brown (5 YR 6/6), surface on the outside somewhat darker (5 YR 6/8–5/8).

Group C (figs. 14–23)

Tableware

C.1. Skyphos (figs. 14–15)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-007
D. rim 5,6; pres. H. 2,1.
Rim fragment with beginning of handle.
Clay hard, very fine and dense texture, some black particles and small lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6–8).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin, dull an rough coating, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 6/8–5/8).

C.2. Kantharos (fig. 14–15)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-006
D. rim 13; pres. H. 3,5.
Rim fragment.
Clay relativly soft, breaks easily, fine and dense texture, one large red inclusion, beige (7.5 YR 7/4–6/4).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin, dull and opaque coating, black.
Decoration: on the outside below the lip fine horizontal scratched line, painting on the rim only preserved in shadows: between grooves horizontal tendrill with lanceolate leaves and incised, linear stem.

C.3. Kantharos (figs. 14–15)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-009
D. rim ca. 10; pres. H. 10,8.
Several rim fragments with large parts of the upper body.
Hard clay, slightly splintering when broken, fine and dense texture, surface carefully smoothed with spatula, some tiny lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4), surface pale pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4–7/4).
Slip on inside, thin, blotchy, dull, slightly rough, partially translucent, golden-beige (2.5 YR 6/8–5/8).
Decoration: on the upper part of the body groups of grooves, below the handles grooved cross.

C.4. Kantharos (figs. 14–15)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-005
D. rim 8; pres. H. 6.
Rim fragment with complete handle.
Clay soft, without visible inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6).
Pres. fragment completely covered with thin, blotchy slip, partially translucent, dull, golden-beige (5 YR 5/8).

C.5. Kantharos (fig. 14)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-004
D. rim 8,4; pres. H. 2,9.
Several fragments of rim and part of wall with beginning of handle.
Clay with some lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6)
Pres. fragments completely covered with thin, but dense and opaque slip, blotchy, dull, reddish-brown (10 R 5/6–8).

C.6. Kantharos (fig. 14)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-008
D. rim 8; pres. H. 3,8.
Several fragments of rim and wall, one complete handle.
Hard clay with some black particles, pinkish-beige (near to 7.5 YR 7/6).
Pres. fragments completely covered with thin slip, blotchy, partially translucent,

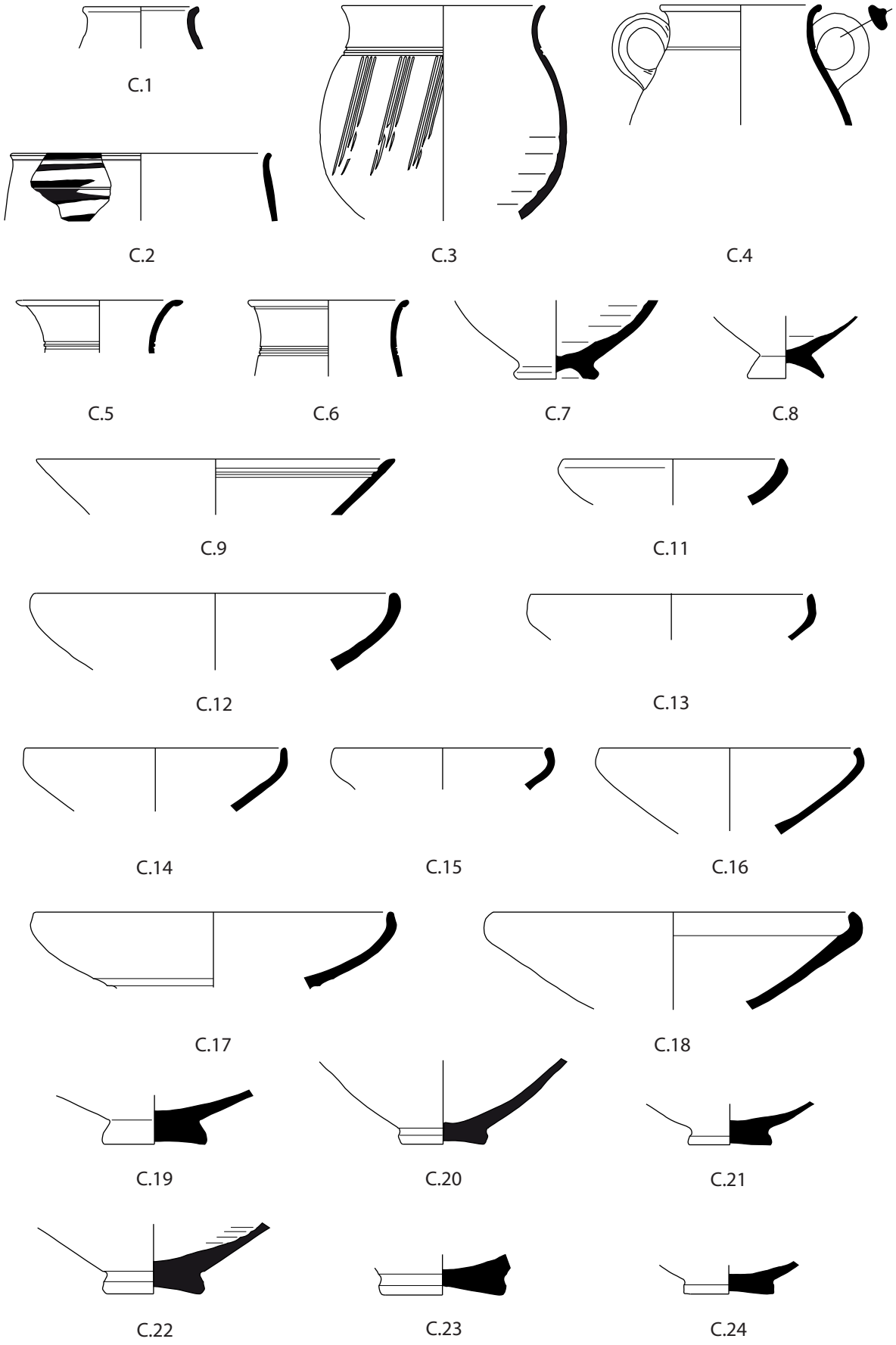


Fig. 14 : Group C. Tableware (M 1 : 3).

dull, rough, black to dark brown (near to 7.5 YR 5/4).

C.7. Kantharos (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-003
D. foot 4; pres. H. 3,9.
Complete foot with part of lower body.
Hard clay, splinters when broken, very fine and dense texture, surface carefully smoothed, some lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (near to 5 YR 7/3), surface pale pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside, mostly worn, thin, translucent, blotchy, dull, rough, black to darkbrown, on the outside remains of golden-beige (5 YR 5/8).
Decoration: groups of vertical grooves.

C.8. Kantharos (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-002
D. foot 3,7; pres. H. 3,1.
Complete foot with part of lower body.
Hard clay, fine and dense texture, surface very carefully smoothed, some tiny lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/6–6/6), surface light beige (near to 10 YR 8/4, somewhat more pink).
Slip on the inside, thin, translucent, blotchy, dull, slightly rough, black to reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/8).
Decoration: groups of vertical grooves.

C.9. Bowl (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-035
D. rim min. 22; pres. H. 2,8.
Rim fragment.
Hard, fine clay with slightly porous texture, one large and some small lime inclusions, mica, beige (7.5 YR 6/6).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin coating, blotchy, slightly rough, slightly shiny, pinkish-beige (2.5 YR 5/6) to dark brown.
Decoration: on inside below the lip horizontal pair of grooves.

C.10. Bowl or mastos (fig. 15)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-034
D. base ca. 2,2; pres. H. 1,5.
Base fragment.
Clay relatively soft, fine and dense texture, no visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/8).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, relatively thick coating, dense and opaque, on the outside blotchy, black, partially reddish-brown (10 R 5/6) on outside.

C.11. Bowl with upturned rim (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-030
D. rim 11; pres. H. 2,3.
Rim fragment.
Clay relatively soft, numerous lime inclusions, slightly micaceous, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/4–6).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, partially worn, coating thin, but dense and opaque, shiny, smooth, black.

C.12. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-019
D. rim 18; pres. H. 3,9.
Several rim fragments.
Clay soft, splintering when broken, fine and dense texture, surface rough, many large lime inclusions and black particles, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface light beige (near to 10 YR 8/3–4).
Slip on inside and upper part of outside, thin, but dense and opaque, dull, rough, black.

C.13. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-026
D. rim 14; pres. H. 2,3.
Three rim fragments.
Very hard clay with some large and small lime inclusions and dark particles, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/6).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, mostly worn, black to dark brown.

C.14. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-021
D. rim 13; pres. H. 3,2.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay with isolated tiny lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6), surface beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside and upper part of outside, thin coating, blotchy, dull, rough, reddish-brown (10 R 4/4–6), on outside also brown (2.5 YR 4/4 and darker).

C.1

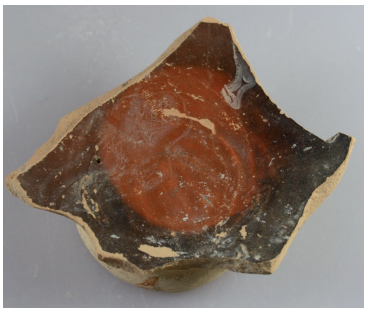
C.2

C.3

C.4

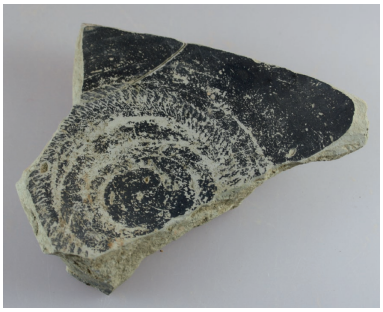
C.10

C.18



C.19

C.25



C.26

C.28

C.30

C.33

Fig. 15 : Group C. Fine wares.

C.15. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-022
D. rim 11; pres. H. 2,1.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, mostly worn on outside, coating thin, dull, rough, black to reddish-brown (10 R 4/6).

C.16. Bowl with invurved rim (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-025
D. rim 13; pres. H. 4,3.
Three rim fragments.
Hard clay with carefully smoothed surface, isolated tiny black and lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6–8), surface pale pinkish-beige (near to 7.5 YR 8/6).
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside, thin, dull, smooth, relatively dense and opaque, reddish-brown (10 R 5/8), centre of inside black.

C.17. Bowl with incurved rim (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-020
D. rim 18; pres. H. 3,8.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, slightly splintering, surface carefully smoothed with spatula, isolated large lime inclusions, some dark particles, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface beige (near to 7.5 YR 8/3–4).
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside, thin, dull, rough, blotchy, black.

C.18. Bowl with incurved rim (figs. 14–15)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-018
D. rim 18; pres. H. 4,9.
Six rim fragments.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, surface carefully smoothed with spatula, some black particles and small lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (near to 2.5 YR 6/6), surface slightly lighter.
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside, thin, blotchy, dull, rough, black, on inside also golden-beige (5 YR 6/8–5/8).

C.19. Bowl (figs. 14–15)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-055
D. base 5; pres. H. 2,7.
Complete base.
Clay relatively soft, crumbles when broken, lime inclusions and some black particles, some fine mica, beige (7.5 YR 7/6), surface pale beige (near to 10 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside, some drops on outside, thin, but dense and opaque, dull, slightly rough, black to dark brown (2.5 YR 4/4), in centre of inside reddish-brown circle (10 R 5–4/8).

C.20. Bowl (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-060
D. base 4; pres. H. 4,4.
Complete base with large part of wall.
Hard clay with small lime inclusions and black particles, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6), surface pale pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4–5 YR 7/8).
Slip on inside, thin, translucent, dull, rough, black to dark brown.

C.21. Bowl (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-059
D. base 3,9; pres. H. 2,2.
Complete base.
Clay relatively soft, crumbles when broken, some large lime inclusions, black particles, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/4), surface pale beige (near to 10 YR 8/3).
Slip on inside, thin, dense and opaque, dull, slightly rough, black.

C.22. Bowl (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-058
D. base 4,7; pres. H. 3,5.
Complete base.
Clay relatively soft, isolated lime inclusions, some black particles, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7–6/4), surface pale pinkish-beige (near to 7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside, thin, blotchy, dull, slightly rough, black, golden-beige (5 YR 6–5/8).

C.23. Bowl (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-056
D. base 6; pres. H. 2,1.
Complete base.
Clay relatively soft, crumbles when broken, lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/4), surface pale beige (7.5 YR 7/4).
Slip on inside, mostly worn, black.
Decoration: on inside slightly incised cross.

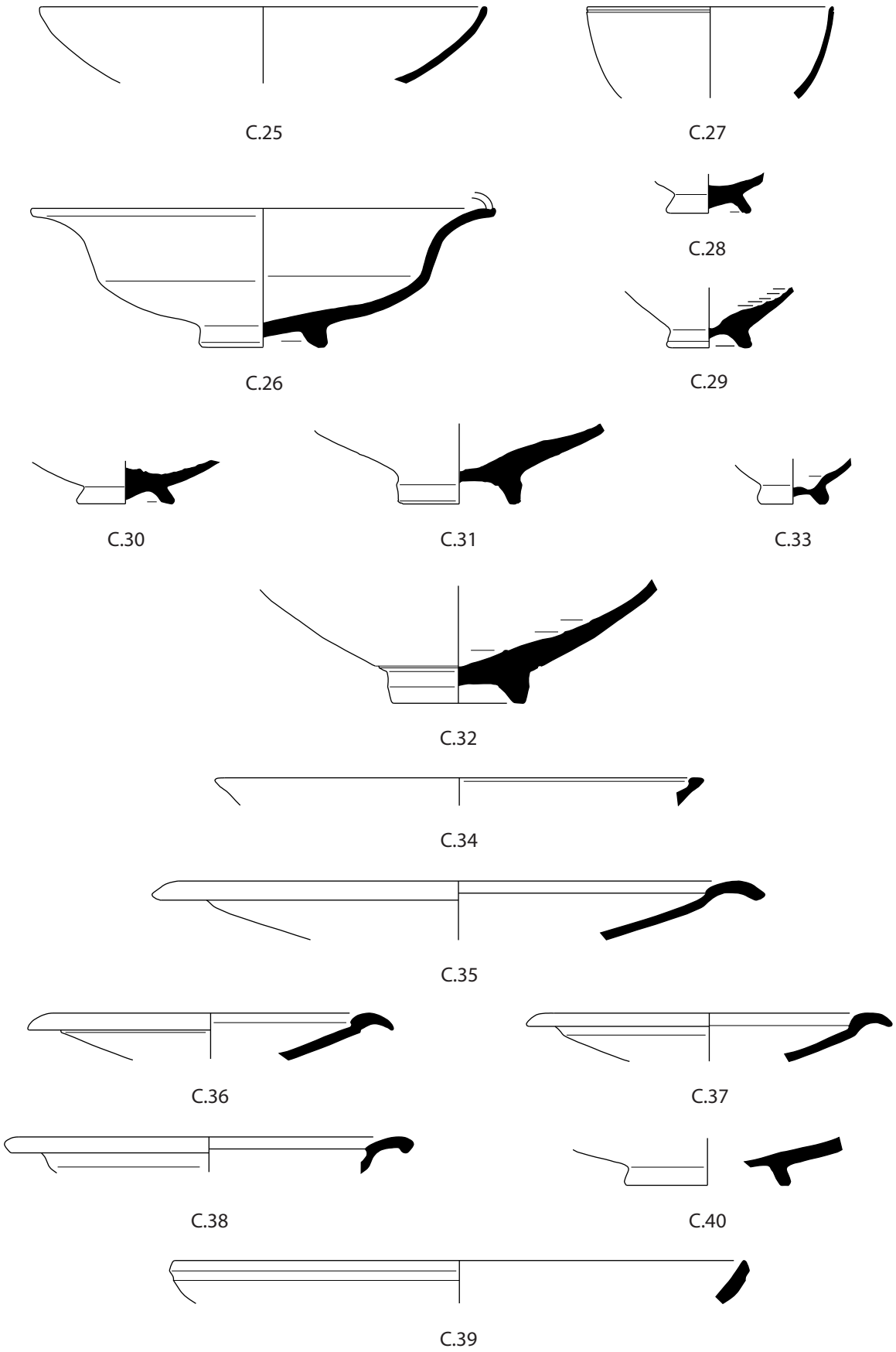


Fig. 16 : Group C. Tableware (M 1 : 3).

C.24. Bowl (fig. 14)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-054
D. base 4,5; pres. H. 1,7.
Complete base.
Clay hard, splintering when broken, some black particles, some large lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6), surface pale beige (near to 7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside, thin, dull, blotchy, black and reddish-brown (2.5 YR 6/8).

C.25. Flat bowl with straight rim (figs. 15–16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-024
D. rim 22; pres. H. 3,8.
Several rim fragments.
Clay relatively soft, crumbles when broken, unusual numerous lime inclusions and black particles, beige (10 YR 7/4), surface pale beige (near to 10 YR 8/3).
Slip on inside, worn, thin, dull, rough, translucent, black.

C.26. Bowl with outcurved rim (figs. 15–16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-027
D. rim 24; D. foot 6; H. 6,8.
Several fragments of rim, wall and foot.
Clay relatively soft, crumbles when broken, lime inclusions and black particles, light gray.
Slip on inside and on outside except foot, blotchy, thin, partially translucent, dull, slightly rough, black.
Decoration: in the centre of inside rouletting.

C.27. Hemispherical bowl (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-063
D. rim ca. 12; pres. H. 4,5.
Several fragments of rim and wall.
Clay soft, breaks easily, highly micaceous, some tiny lime inclusions, reddish-brown (5 YR 5/8).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, mostly worn, thin coating, but dense and opaque, slightly shiny, smooth, reddish-brown (10 R 5/8–2.5 YR 4/8).

C.28. Bowl (figs. 15–16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-049
D. foot 4; pres. H. 1,9.
Complete foot.
Hard clay with some lime inclusions and dark particles, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/6).
Slip on inside, mostly worn, thin, dull, rough, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/8).

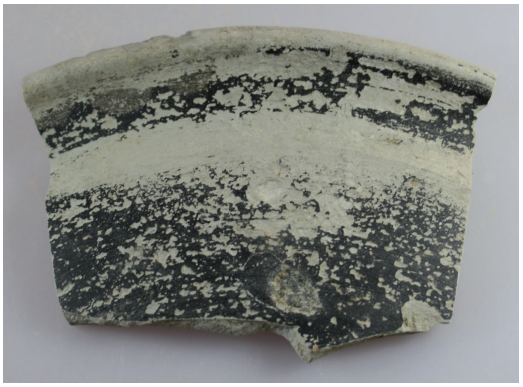
C.29. Bowl (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-050
D. foot 4; pres. H. 2,9.
Complete foot.
Hard clay without visible inclusions, beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface pale beige (near to 7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside, thin, but relatively dense and opaque, dull and partially shiny, rough, dark brown (near to 5 YR 4/3).

C.30. Bowl (figs. 15–16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-051
D. foot 4,6; pres. H. 2,1.
Complete foot.
Hard clay with isolated lime inclusions and dark particles, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6), surface pale pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside, thin, on inside dense and opaque, dull, slightly rough, reddish-brown (10 R 5/6-8).

C.31. Bowl (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-052
D. foot 5,8; pres. H. 3,9.
Complete foot.
Clay relatively soft and slightly porous, numerous small and large lime inclusions and black particles, beige (near to 10 YR 7/3), surface beige (near to 10 YR 8/3).
Slipped on inside, mostly worn, thin, dull, rough, black to dark brown (5 YR 4/3).

C.32. Bowl (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-053
D. foot 6,6; pres. H. 6,3.
Complete foot with large part of wall.
Very hard clay, splintering, slightly porous texture, many scratches on the surface, unusual numerous lime inclusions, some dark particles, beige (10 YR 7/4, surface near to 10 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside, thin, dull, smooth, black.

C.33. Bowl (figs. 15–16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-048
D. foot 3; pres. H. 2,2.



C.35

C.36

C.39

C.43

C.44

C.46

C.48

Fig. 17 : Group C. Tableware.

Complete foot.
Very hard clay, isolated lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface beige (near to 10YR 8/4, somewhat darker).
Slip on inside, thin, blotchy, translucent, dull, smooth, black to dark brown.

C.34. Plate with thickened lip (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-038
D. rim ca. 24; pres. H. 1,3.
Rim fragment.
Clay soft, some lime inclusions, beige (near to 7.5 YR 6/6).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, almost completely worn, remains of thin, dull coating, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/8).

C.35. Plate with domed rim (figs. 16–17)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-028
D. rim 30; pres. H. 2,8.
Rim fragment.
Very hard clay, splintering when broken, isolated black particles, light gray.
Pres. fragment completely slipped, partially worn, thin, but relatively dense and opaque coating, dull, smooth, black.

C.36. Plate with domed rim (figs. 16–17)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-042
D. rim 18; pres. H. 2,3.
Several fragments of rim and wall.
Very hard clay, splintering when broken, no visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/6), surface pale pinkish-beige (near to 10 YR 8/3–4).
Slip on inside, drops running down outside, thin, but relatively dense and opaque, blotchy, dull, slightly rough, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/4).

C.37. Plate with domed rim (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-043
D. rim 18; pres. H. 2,4.
Three rim fragments.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, some black particles and lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface pale beige (10 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside and on upper part of outside, thin, translucent, dull, blotchy, rough, black to chocolate-brown (10 YR 4/4).

C.38. Plate with domed rim (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-036
D. rim 20; pres. H. 1,7.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, crumbles when broken, some large and small lime inclusions, dark particles, beige (7.5 YR 6/6), core slightly darker and grayish, surface light beige (near to 10 YR 8/4).
Slip on inside, drops running down outside, worn, thin, translucent, slightly rough, dull, black to dark brown.

C.39. Plate with upturned rim (figs. 16–17)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-061
D. rim 28; pres. H. 2,1.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, large lime inclusions and some black particles, beige (7.5 YR 6/6).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, but almost completely worn, thin coating, slightly shiny, smooth, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5–4/8).

C.40. Plate (fig. 16)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-047
D. foot 8; pres. H. 2,3.
Foot fragment.
Very hard clay with isolated small lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4), surface somewhat more pale.
Slip on inside, mostly worn, thin, dull, black to dark brown.

C.41. Fish plate (fig. 18)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-040
D. rim ca. 18; pres. H. 1.
Rim fragment
Hard clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-brown (7.5 YR 7/4).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, relatively thick coating, dense and opaque, slightly shiny, smooth, black.

C.42. Fish plate (fig. 18)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-039
D. rim ca. 24; pres. H. ca. 1,6.
Rim fragment.
Clay extremely hard, hardly breakable, no visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6), surface pale pinkish-beige (near to 7.5 YR 8/4).

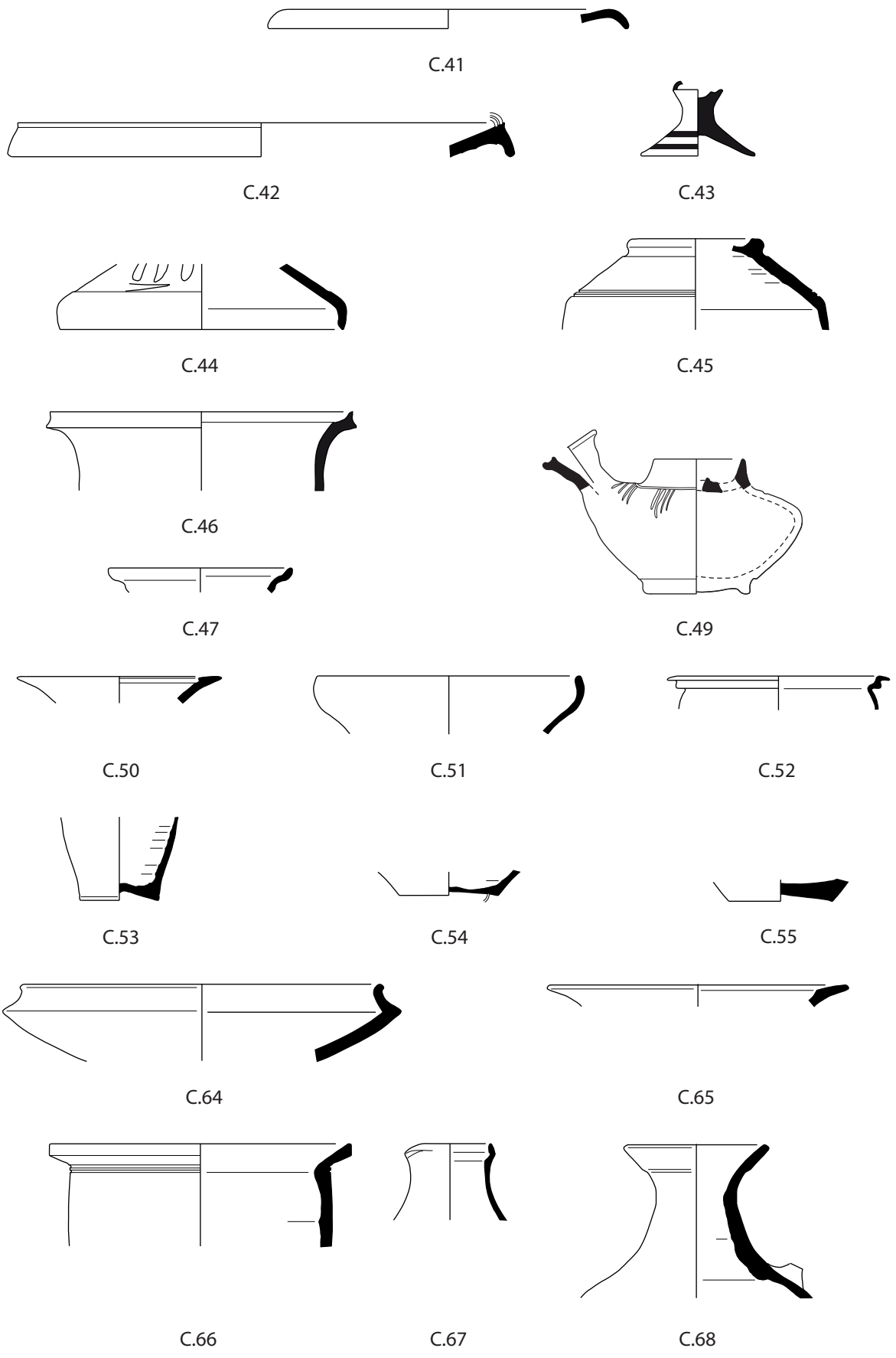


Fig. 18 : Group C. Tableware, thin-walled and household ware (M 1 : 3).

Slip on inside, small drops running down outside, thin, dull, slightly rough, black.
Decoration: on inside directly below the rim horizontal double groove.

C.43. Small lid (figs. 17-18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-057
D. rim 5,8; D. handle ca. 2,3; H. 3,4.
Three quarters of the lid with complete handle.
Soft clay, sponge marks on the inside, black particles and isolated lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/6), surface somewhat paler.
Decoration: on outside two painted stripes, fine painted circle on the handle, dark beige (5 YR 7–6/6) to black.

C.44. Reversible lid (figs. 17–18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-033
D. rim 14; pres. H. 3,2.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, some lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/4), surface pale pinkish-beige (near to 7.5 YR 8/4).
Slip on outside, worn, thin, dull, smooth, blotchy, black, partially chocolate-brown (7.5 YR 5/4).
Decoration: on outside traces of painted decoration in West Slope style: stripes? drops?

C.45. Reversible lid (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-029
D. Griff 6,4; pres. H. 4,5.
Fragments of wall and handle.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, some dark particles and small lime inclusions, light gray.
Slip on outside, thin, translucent, blotchy, dull, smooth, finger prints, black to dark brown.
Decoration: on outside near the rim horizontal double groove.

C.46. Amphora (figs. 17–18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-064
D. rim ca. 15; pres. H. 3,9.
Several fragments of wall and rim with beginnings of the two handles.
Hard clay with some lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6, surface on inside 7.5 YR 8/4).
Pres. fragments mostly completely slipped, worn, thin and blotchy coating, partially translucent, dull, slightly rough, orange-/reddish-brown (2.5 YR 6/8), golden-beige (5 YR 6/8) to black.
Decoration: grooves on outside, simplified discs attached on the handle.

C.47. Jug/amphora (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-041
D. rim 9; pres. H. 1,2.
Fragment of mouth/rim.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, no visible inclusions, light gray.
Pres. fragment completely slipped, mostly worn, thin and dull coating, black.

C.48. Oinochoe (fig. 17)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-115
D. handle 1,9.
Complete rope handle with thumb rest and small part of rim.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, no visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6), surface somewhat paler.

C.49. Guttus/filter jug (figs. 18–19)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-001
KF no. LI-B-649
D. rim 4,3; D. foot 4,8; H. 8; filter: D. central hole 0,7; other holes 0,8–1,0.
Almost complete vessel, ring handle missing.
Highly micaceous clay, some lime inclusions, gray, surface light gray.
Vessel completely slipped except underside of foot, mostly worn, traces of thin and dull coating, black.
Decoration: groups of grooves on the shoulder.

C.50. Jug (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-037
D. rim 12; pres. H. 1,4.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay without visible inclusions, grayish-brown (near to 10 YR 5/2).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin and translucent coating, dull, blotchy, black to dark brown.

C.49

C.56

C.57

C.57

C.58

C.59

C.61

C.60

C.62

C.63

Fig. 19 : Group C. Tableware, thin-walled ware and moldmade bowls.

C.51. Funnel (fig. 18)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-023
D. rim 13; pres. H. 2,9.
Rim fragment.
Very hard clay, numerous tiny lime inclusions, beige (7.5 YR 6/6) with very dark gray core.
Slip completely worn.

Thin-walled ware

C.52. Thin-walled beaker (fig. 18)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-046
D. rim 11; pres. H. 1,7.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay with lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 5/6) with somewhat darker core, surface pale beige (7.5 YR 6/4).

C.53. Thin-walled beaker (fig. 18)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-044
D. rim 3,8; pres. H. 4,1.
Complete base with parts of lower body.
Hard clay, crumbles when broken, numerous large and small lime inclusions, dark reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/3), surface pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 4/1–6/3).

C.54. Thin-walled beaker (fig. 18)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-068
D. foot 5; pres. H. 1,3.
Base fragment.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, fine mica, lime inclusions, brown (7.5 YR 5–4/4), surface pale brown, slightly reddish (near to 7.5 YR 6/4).
Groove on the underside of base.

C.55. Thin-walled beaker (fig. 18)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-069
D. foot 5,1; pres. H. 1,3.
Complete base.
Very hard clay, lime inclusions and fine quartz particles, to outside reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/6), to inside yellow-brown, surface on outside grayish-brown (near to 2.5 YR 5/1), on inside pinkish-brown (near to 5 YR 6/3).

C.56. Thin-walled beaker (fig. 19)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-045
Fr. 1) 2 x 1,9; fr. 2) 2,8 x 2,1; fr. 3) 2,5 x 1,8.
Three wall fragments.
Clay crumbles when broken, some lime inclusions, orange (2.5 YR 6/8), surface somewhat paler.
Decoration: curved line of small barbotine dots.

Moldmade bowls

C.57. Moldmade bowl (fig. 19)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-010
Sample no. MD 5127
Several fragments of rim, wall and base.
Hard clay without visible inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/4).
Completely slipped, partially worn, thin coating, blotchy, dull, rough, black to dark brown (5 YR 4/3), golden-beige (5 YR 5/8).
Decoration: ornamental frieze, destroyed; astragal; frieze with boars running to right, below their bellies isolated ivy leaf; row of rosettes, separated by vertical wavy lines.
On underside of the base potter's signature, incised in mold.
Ivy leaves from the same stamp as the leaves on **C.59**.

C.58. Moldmade bowl (fig. 19)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-011
Several fragments of rim, wall and base.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, some tiny black and lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (near to 5 YR 6/6).
Completely slipped, thin and translucent coating, dull, rough, blotchy, black, golden-beige (5 YR 5/4, spots in golden-beige 5 YR 6/8).
Decoration: band of flowers and bucrania(?); frieze with spirals and ornaments made of two semi-circles placed against each other; leaf pattern, three rows of small leaf tips.

C.59. Moldmade bowl (fig. 19)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-012
Several fragments of rim, wall and base.
Soft clay with some lime inclusions and gray particles, pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/6).

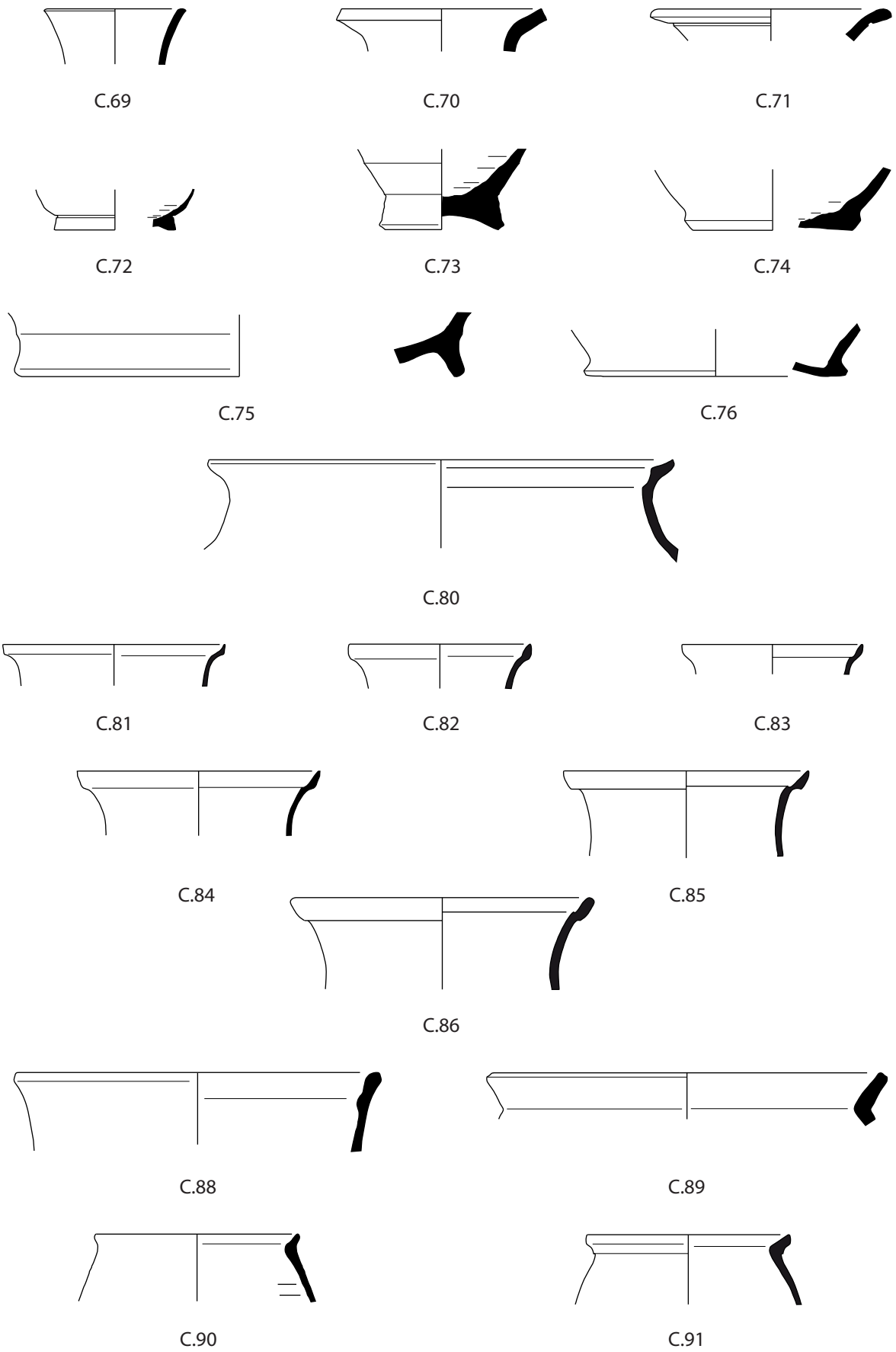


Fig. 20 : Group C. Household and cooking ware (M 1 : 3).

Completely slipped, partially very thin and translucent coating, dull, blotchy rough, black, dark brown (5 YR 4/4), golden-beige (10 R 6/8–5/8).
Decoration: ornamental frieze, big dots?; row of leaf tips; high band with ivy leaves on vertical stems.
Ivy leaves from same stamp as leaves on **C.57**.

C.60. Moldmade bowl (fig. 19)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-013
Several fragments of rim and wall.
Relatively soft clay, splintering when broken, some lime inclusions and black particles, pinkish-brown (7.5 YR 7/4).
Completely slipped, mostly worn, thin and translucent coating, dull, rough, black.
Decoration: Ionian kymation, high zone with long-petal decoration: isolated placed leaf tongues with dots between the tips.

C.61. Moldmade bowl (fig. 19)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-014
Several fragments of rim and wall.
Hard clay with some black particles, pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 6/4).
Completely slipped, very thin and translucent coating, dull, rough, pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 6/4) to brown (2.5 YR 5/6).
Decoration: astragal; high zone with leaf pattern, two rows of leaf tips pres.

C.62. Moldmade bowl (fig. 19)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-015
D. base 3–4; pres. H. 3,9.
Fragments of wall and base.
Hard clay, crumbles when broken, some lime inclusions and black particles, pale pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/4).
Completely slipped, thin and translucent coating, dull, rough, brown (5 YR 4/3).
Decoration: leaf pattern, seven rows of small leaf tips pres.

C.63. Moldmade bowl (fig. 19)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-016
2,6 × 2,8.
Part of wall.
Clay crumbles when broken, some small lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/4).
Completely slipped except lower part of outside, thin and translucent coating, blotchy, dull, rough, brown (5 YR 4/3–4).
Decoration: small flowers on wavy stems alternating with spiral objects on straight stems.

Household and cooking ware

C.64. Large bowl (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-100
D. rim 18; pres. H. 3,8.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, fine and dense texture, some lime inclusions and black particles, pale pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/4), surface pale beige (7.5 YR 8/4) to pinkish-beige (near to 5 YR 7/6).

C.65. Bowl? (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-103
D. rim 15; pres. H. 1,1.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay, slightly crumbling, fine and dense texture, black particles, pale pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/4), surface pale beige (near to 10 R 8/3–4).

C.66. Jug/amphora (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-081
D. rim 15; pres. H. 5,1.
Rim fragment.
Relatively hard clay, brittle, slightly splintering, fine and dense texture, highly micaceous, some fine quartz inclusions, beige (near to 5 YR 5/8) with grayish-brown core, surface beige.

C.67. Oinochoe (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-092
D. rim 4; pres. H. 4.
Fragment of mouth/rim.
Soft clay, fine and dense texture, numerous lime inclusions, some fine quartz inclusions, grayish-brown with beige-brown (5 YR 4/6) core, surface beige-brown to brown.

C.68. Jug (fig. 18)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-093
D. rim 7; pres. H. 7,6.

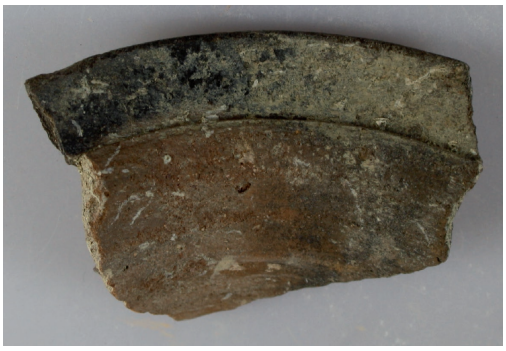
C.77

C.80

C.78

C.79

C.84



C.85

C.86

C.87

C.92

C.93

Fig. 21 : Group C. Household and cooking ware.

Several fragments of rim and shoulder with beginning of handles.
Clay brittle, crumbles when broken, fine and dense texture, numerous small and large lime inclusions, dark gray with dark yellowish-brown (5 YR 5/4) core, surface somewhat paler.

C.69. Jug (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-090
D. rim 9; pres. H. 2,8.
Two rim fragments.
Very soft clay, heavily crumbling, fine and dense texture, lime and quartz inclusions, yellowish-brown (2.5 YR 5–4/8), surface somewhat paler, burned.

C.70. Jug (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-065
D. rim 10; pres. H. 2,1.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, fine and dense texture, large and small lime inclusions, slightly micaceous, pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 6/6), surface pale pinkish-beige (near to 10 YR 8/4).

C.71. Jug (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-106
D. rim ca. 12; pres. H. 1,6.
Rim fragment.
Hard clay with fine and dense texture, some tiny light inclusions, pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 5/8), surface pale orange-brown (near to 5 YR 7/8).

C.72. Jug (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-101
D. foot 6; pres. H. 2.
Foot fragment.
Relatively soft clay, fine and dense texture, no visible inclusions, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6), surface pale pinkish-beige (5 YR 7/6).

C.73. Jug (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-096
D. foot 5,7; pres. H. 4.
Complete foot.
Very hard clay, hardly breakable, fine and dense texture, lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 5/4–6), to the outside black, surface somewhat paler pinkish-brown to pale beige-brown (7.5 YR 6/4).

C.74. Jug (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-110
D. base 8; pres. H. 3.
Base fragment.
Hard clay with fine and dense texture, slightly micaceous, some lime inclusions and black particles, pinkish-beige (5 YR 6/6).
On outside traces of pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 7/6) slip.

C.75. Jar (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-097
D. foot 23; pres. H. 3,5.
Four foot fragments.
Very hard clay, splintering when broken, heavily burned, lime inclusions, some fine mica, dark brown to black.

C.76. Jar (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-102
D. foot 13; pres. H. 2,2.
Two foot fragments.
Hard clay with fine and dense texture, some lime inclusions and dark particles, pale beige (10 YR 8–7/3)

C.77. Jug/jar (fig. 21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-107
W. 3,7; thickness 1,2.
Complete handle.
Hard clay, slightly splintering, fine and dense texture, numerous lime inclusions, some fine mica, beige-brown (near to 7.5 YR 6/6) with reddish core, surface pale beige (5 YR 6/6).

C.78. Jug/jar (fig. 21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-104
W. 2,4; thickness 1,2.
Complete handle.
Hard clay with fine and dense texture, slightly porous, some black particles and lime inclusions, pale beige (10 YR 8/3), surface somewhat lighter.

C.79. Jug/jar (fig. 21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-105
W. 1,8; thickness 0,8.
Complete handle.

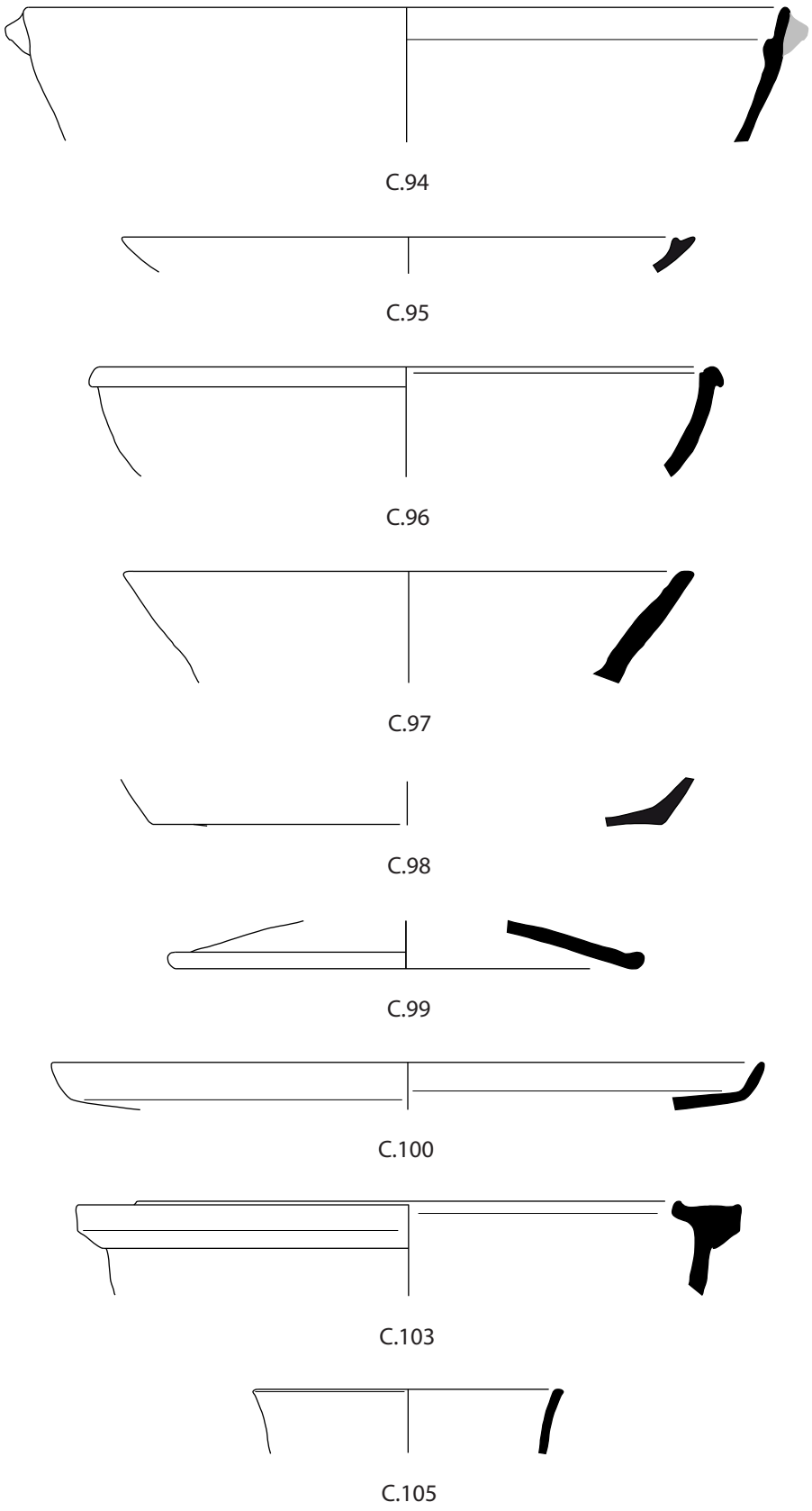


Fig. 22 : Group C. Cooking ware and non-local pottery (M 1 : 3).

Soft clay, heavily crumbling, fine and dense texture, lime inclusions, some black particles, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/8), surface pale orange-brown (near to 2.5 YR 6/8).

C.80. Chytra (figs. 20–21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-080
D. rim 23; pres. H. 5.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay, crumbles when broken, fine and dense texture, numerous lime inclusions, fine quartz inclusions, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/8), surface pale orange-brown/beige.

C.81. Chytra (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-076
D. rim 11; pres. H. 2.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay, fine and dense texture, fine quartz inclusions, orange-brown (2.5 YR 5/8) with brown core, surface pale reddish-brown (near to 2.5 YR 6/6).

C.82. Chytra (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-077
D. rim 9; pres. H. 2,2.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay with fine and dense texture, numerous lime inclusions, fine quartz inclusions, dark reddish-brown (5 YR 4/4), surface outside dark reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/3), inside pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 6/4).

C.83. Chytra (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-075
D. rim 9; pres. H. 1,5.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay, slightly crumbling, fine and dense texture, lots of fine quartz inclusions, orange-brown (near to 2.5 YR6/6).

C.84. Chytra (figs. 20–21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-074
D. rim 12; pres. H. 3,2.
Two rim fragments.
Soft clay, crumbling, fine and dense texture, some black particles and lime inclusions, orange-brown (near to 5 YR 4/6), surface orange- to pinkish-brown.

C.85. Chytra (figs. 20–21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-073
D. rim 12; pres. H. 4,2.
Several rim fragments.
Very soft clay, crumbles when broken, fine and dense texture, some lime inclusions, beige-brown (5 YR 4/6), surface pinkish-brown (5 YR 5/3–4).

C.86. Chytra (figs. 20–21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-113
D. rim 15; pres. H. 4,8.
Two rim fragments.
Hard clay, slightly splintering when broken, fine and dense texture, numerous lime inclusions, some large dark inclusions, pinkish-brown (5 YR 5/6) with dark brown (10 YR 4/3) core, surface pinkish-brown (5 YR 6/4) to grayish-brown.

C.87. Chytra (fig. 21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-083
D. rim 15; pres. H. 3,1 (12,1 with handle); handle: W. 2,9; thickness 1,4.
Rim fragment with complete handle.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, fine and dense texture, numerous lime inclusions, fine quartz(?) inclusions, beige (5 YR 5/8) with grayish-brown core, surface pale pinkish-beige.
Decoration: simplified discs attached on the handle.

C.88. Chytra (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-084
D. rim 18; pres. H. 3,8.
Several rim fragments.
Soft clay, heavily crumbling when broken, fine and dense texture, lots of fine quartz inclusions, beige (near to 2.5 YR 5/8), surface to the inside pinkish-brown, burned on the outside.

C.89. Chytra (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-098
D. rim 20; pres. H. 2,6.
Rim fragment.
Very hard clay, not breakable, fine and dense texture, highly micaceous, orange-brown?, discoloured by heating

C.94

C.100

C.101

C.102

C.103

C.104

Fig. 23 : Group C. Cooking ware and non-local pottery.

C.90. Chytra (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-116
D. rim 10; pres. H. 3,3.
Two rim fragments.
Soft clay, crumbling when broken, fine and dense texture, lime inclusions, pinkish-beige (2.5 YR 4/6), surface pale orange-brown (2.5 YR 6/8) to reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/4).

C.91. Chytra (fig. 20)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-114
D. rim 10; pres. H. 3,5.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay, crumbling when broken, fine and dense texture, fine quartz inclusions, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/6), surface outside pale brown (near to 5 YR 5/3), inside pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 6/6).

C.92. Chytra (fig. 21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-072
D. rim ca. 15; pres. H. 4,2 with handle.
Rim fragment with remains of handle.
Hard clay, fine and dense texture, numerous lime inclusions, reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/6) with dark brown core, surface inside pale

grayish-brown, outside pinkish-brown (near to 2.5 YR 6/4).
Decoration: simplified discs attached to the handle.

C.93. Chytra (fig. 21)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-091
6 x 7,9.
Fragment of bottom.
Soft clay, heavily crumbling, fine and dense texture, slightly porous, some lime and fine quartz inclusions, beige-brown (2.5 YR 5/8), surface pale beige-brown (near to 5 YR 6–5/6).

C.94. Lopas (figs. 22–23)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-070
D. rim 32; pres. H. 5,6.
Several rim fragments and one complete handle.
Brittle clay, crumbles when broken, dense texture, large lime inclusions, fine quartz inclusions, dark reddish-brown (5 YR 4/4), surface dark reddish-brown (5 YR 5/3–4, partially lighter).

C.95. Lopas (fig. 22)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-071
D. rim 24; pres. H. 2.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay, crumbles when broken, fine and dense texture, lots of fine quartz inclusions, some lime inclusions, dark reddish-brown (2.5 YR 4/6), surface on inside pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 5/4–6), outside burned.

C.96. Pan (fig. 22)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-082
D. rim 26; pres. H. 4,6.
Four rim fragments.
Soft clay, crumbles when broken, fine and dense texture, fine mica and quartz inclusions, beige (5 YR 5/8), surface pinkish-beige.

C.97. Pan (fig. 22)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-086
D. rim 24; pres. H. 4,6.
Several rim fragments.
Very hard clay, heavily breakable, fine and dense texture, fine quartz particles, burned.

C.98. Pan (fig. 22)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-085
D. base 24; pres. H. 2,1.
Several base fragments.
Hard clay, splintering when broken, fine and dense texture, fine quartz inclusions, burned.

C.99. Lid (fig. 22)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-088
D. rim 20; pres. H. 2.
Rim fragment.
Soft clay, crumbles when broken, fine and dense texture, fine mica, lots of fine quartz inclusions, some lime inclusions, beige-brown (2.5 YR 5/8), surface somewhat paler.

Non-local pottery

C.100. Plate with upturned rim (figs. 22–23)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-062
D. rim 30; pres. H. ca. 2.
Rim fragment.
Relatively soft clay, easily breakable, very fine and dense texture, fine mica, some lime inclusions, cinnamon-brown (5 YR 6–5/8).
Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin, but dense and opaque coating, slightly shiny, smooth (soapy), reddish-brown (10 R 5/8–2.5 YR 5/8).

C.101. Moldmade bowl (fig. 23)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-031
Rim fragment.
Relatively soft clay, easily breakable, crumbling, fine and dense texture, some lime inclusions and dark particles, slightly micaceous, dark gray.
Pres. fragment completely slipped, relatively thick coating, dense and opaque, shiny, black.
Decoration: below the rim band of rosettes.
Ephesian.

C.102. Moldmade bowl (fig. 23)
Object no. LI-B-BF0298-032
Rim fragment.
Hard clay, very fine and dense texture, highly micaceous, some lime inclusions, pinkish-brown (2.5 YR 6/8).

Pres. fragment completely slipped, thin but dense and opaque coating, shiny, reddish-brown (10 R 4/6).
Decoration: below the rim Lesbian kymation. Ephesian.

C.103. Brazier (figs. 22–23)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-099
D. rim 28; pres. H. 3,8.
Rim fragment.
Relatively soft clay, easily breakable, slightly crumbling, fine and dense texture, fine mica, numerous lime inclusions, fine quartz inclusions, orange-brown (near to 5 YR 5/8), surface pale beige-brown.

C.104. Funnel (fig. 23)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-112
Pres. L. ca. 10,5; pres. W. ca. 2,2–5.
Fragment of the spout.
Very soft and brittle clay, heavily crumbling when broken, porous texture, rough, lime inclusions and dark particles, pale pinkish-beige (7.5 YR 8/3), surface pale beige (near to 10 YR 8/4).

C.105. Jar? (fig. 22)

Object no. LI-B-BF0298-089
D. rim 13; pres. H. 2,7.
Two parts of the rim.
Soft clay, easily breakabel, crumbling, fine and dense texture, rough, fine quartz and numerous lime inclusions, beige-brown (2.5 YR 4/6), somewhat paler on the surface.

Bibliography

Andrea 1988	Z. Andrea, Varre të periudhës antike dhe mesjetare në Gërmenj (rrethi i Lushnjes), Iliria 18.1, 1988, 169–197
Basler 1969	D. Basler, Nekropola na Velim ledinama u Gostilju (Donja Zeta), Glasnik, N.F. 24, 1969, 5–107
Bernardini 1961	M. Bernardini, Vasi dello Stile di Gnathia. Vasi a vernice nera, Museo provincial ›S. Castromediano‹ Lecce (Bari 1961)
Bereti 1995	V. Bereti, Gjetje nga varrezat antike në territoret e Amantëve, Iliria 25, 1995, 199–223
Budina 1972	D. Budina, Antigonee, Iliria 2, 1972, 269–378
Budina – Prendi 1972	D. Budina – F. Prendi, Fouilles 1960 dans la fortresse d'Irmaj (Gramsh), Iliria 2, 1972, 25-66
Bunguri 1997	A. Bunguri, Periudhat postneolitike të vendbanimit të Topojanit, Iliria 27, 1997, 57–83
Ceka 1972	N. Ceka, La ville illyrienne de la Basse-Selce, Iliria 2, 1972, 169–215
Ceka 1985	N. Ceka, Qyteti ilir pranë Selcës së Poshtme (Tirana 1985)
Daszkiewicz et al. 2017	M. Daszkiewicz – G. Schneider – P. Kögler, Analysis of Black-coated Pottery from Montenegro and Albania using MGR-Analysis and WD-XRF, Forum Archaeologiae 83/VI/2017 (http://farch.net)
Dautaj 1972	B. Dautaj, La cite illyrienne de Dimal, Iliria 2, 1972, 149–165
Dautaj 1976a	B. Dautaj, Dimale à la lumière des données archéologiques, Iliria 4, 1976, 385–409
Dautaj 1976b	B. Dautaj, Aspekte të jetës ekonomike në Dimal, Iliria 6, 1976, 149–163

Edwards 1975	C. R. Edwards, Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery, Corinth 5, 7, 3 (Princeton, NJ 1975)
Forti 1965	L. Forti, La ceramica di Gnathia, Monumenti antichi della Magna Graecia 2 (Neapel 1965)
Froning 1982	H. Froning, Katalog der griechischen und italischen Vasen, Museum Folkwang Essen (Essen 1982)
Gamberini 2016	A. Gamberini, Ceramiche fini ellenistiche da Phoinike: forme, produzioni, commerci, Scavi di Phoinike 2 (Bologna 2016)
Garašanin 1973	M. Garašanin, Die späteisenzeitliche Nekropolen-Gruppe vom Typ Gostilj im Labiatenlande, Godišnjak 11.9, 1973, 5–28
Green 1976	J. R. R. Green, Gnathia Pottery in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn (Mainz 1976)
Hayes 1991	J. W. Hayes, Paphos 3. The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery (Nicosia 1991)
Hayes 2008	J. W. Hayes, Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports, Agora 32 (Princeton N. J. 2008)
Heimberg 1982	U. Heimberg, Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben 3. Die Keramik des Kabirions (Berlin 1982)
Hidri 1986	H. Hidri, Prodhimi i qeramikës vendees të Dyrrahut në shek. VI–II p.e.sonë, Iliria 16.1, 1986, 187–195
Japp 2008	S. Japp, Datierende Keramik aus dem Podiensaalgebäude (K 1–200), in: H. Schwarzer, Die Stadtgrabung Teil 4. Das Gebäude mit dem Podiensaal in der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Studien zu sakralen Banketträumen mit Liegepodien in der Antike, AvP 15, 4 (Berlin 2008) 251–307
Japp 2014	S. Japp, Sigillata of Pergamon – Eastern Sigillata C. Problems of Classification and Chronology, in: H. Meyza (Hrsg.), Late Hellenistic to Mediaeval Fine Wares of the Aegean Coast of Anatolia. Their Production, Imitation and Use, Travaux de l'Institut des Cultures Méditerranéennes et Orientales de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences 1 (Warsaw 2014) 11–22
Kögler 2009–2010	P. Kögler, Abseits der Zentren – Zwischen den Zentren: Die importierte und nicht importierte Feinkeramik aus Lissos – Eine Studie zu den ökonomischen und kulturellen Beziehungen der Stadt im späten Hellenismus, Iliria 34, 2009–2010, 77–84
Kögler 2010	P. Kögler, Feinkeramik aus Knidos vom mittleren Hellenismus bis in die mittlere Kaiserzeit (ca. 200 v. Chr. bis 150 n. Chr.) (Wiesbaden 2010)
Krstić 2004	V. Krstić, Hellenistic Pottery from Budva from the Greek Collection of the National Museum of Belgrad, in: EllKer 6, 585–592
Lahi 1988	B. Lahi, Qyteza e fortifikuar e Beltojës, Iliria 18.2, 1988, 69–92
Lahi 1993	B. Lahi, Kalaja e Ganjollës, Iliria 23, 1993, 201–218
Lahi 2013	B. Lahi, Überblick über die hellenistischen Transportamphoren von Lissos/Albanien, in: N. Fenn – Chr. Römer-Strehl (eds.), Networks in the Hellenistic World According to the Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond, BARIntSer 2539 (Oxford 2013) 107–115
Lahi 2015	B. Lahi, Amfora transporti të periudhës helenistike nga Lissos. Rezultate paraprake nga gërmimet arkeologjike të viteve 2006–2011, Iliria 39, 2015, 257–289
Lera 1992	P. Lera, Vandanimi ilir në Gradishtën e Symizes, Iliria 22, 1992, 177–208
Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988	C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, Die pergamenische Sigillata aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Mitte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr., PF 6 (Berlin 1988)
Morel 1981	J.–P. Morel, Céramique Campanienne: Les Formes (Rom 1981)

Oettel 2010	A. Oettel, Lissos (Albanien), in: Jahresbericht des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 2009, AA 2010 Beih. (München 2010) 33–36
Oettel 2014	A. Oettel, Von der illyrischen Festung zum römischen oppidum. Die Transformationsprozesse der illyrischen Stadt Lissos/Lissus, in: L. Përzhita – I. Gjipali – G. Hoxha – B. Muka (eds.), Proceedings of the International Congress of Albanian Archaeological Studies. 65th Anniversary of Albanian Archaeology (21–22 November, Tirana 2013) (Tirana 2014) 455–468
Oettel 2015	A. Oettel, Lissos in Albanien – eine illyrische Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit, in: A. Matthaei – M. Zimmermann (eds.), Urbane Strukturen und bürgerliche Identität im Hellenismus, Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform 5 (Mainz 2015) 237–254
Oettel – Hoxha forthcoming	A. Oettel – G. Hoxha (eds.), Lissos in Illyrien. Ergebnisse der deutsch-albanischen Ausgrabungen 2006 bis 2011, Lissos 1. Archäologische Untersuchungen in der nord-albanischen Küstenebene, AF (in preparation)
Peignard 1997	A. Peignard, La vaisselle de la Maison des Sceaux, Délos, in: EllKer 4, 308–316
Pemberton 1989	E. G. Pemberton, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Greek Pottery, Corinth 18, 1 (Princeton, NJ 1989)
Ramage 1997	N. H. Ramage, The Attic Pottery. The Finds through 1990, in: J. Snyder Schaeffer, The Corinthian, Attic and Laconian Pottery from Sardis, Sardis 10 (Cambridge, MA 1997) 65–120
Rotroff 1997	S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, Agora 29 (Princeton, NJ 1997)
Rotroff 2006	S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. The Plain Wares, Agora 33 (Princeton, NJ 2006)
Shehi 2010	E. Shehi, Kilns in Albania. An overview, RCRFActa 41, 2010, 55–59
Sparkes – Talcott 1970	B. A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B. C., Agora 12 (Princeton, NJ 1970)
Thompson 1934	H. A. Thompson, Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery, Hesperia 3, 1934, 311–476
Velimirović-Žižić 1966	O. Velimirović-Žižić, Trouvaille de Momišići (russ.), Starinar 15–16, 1966, 193–207
Vreka 1994a	B. Vreka, Un atelier de la céramique hellénistique en Apollonie d'Illyrie, in: EllKer 3, 205–214
Vreka 1994b	B. Vreka, Zbukurimi në qeramikën helenistike të Apolonisë, Iliria 24, 1994, 165–206
Warner Slane 1997	K. Warner Slane, The Fine Wares, in: S. C. Herbert (Hrsg.), Tel Anafa 2, 1. The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery (Ann Arbor 1997) 247–406
Will 1982	E. Lyding Will, Greco-Italic Amphoras, Hesperia 51, 1982, 338–356
Yntema 2001	D. Yntema, Pre-Roman Valesio. Excavations of the Amsterdam Free University at Valesio, Province of Brindisi, Southern Italy 1. The Pottery (Amsterdam 2001)
Zapheiropoulou – Chatzidakis 1994	Ph. Zapheiropoulou – P. Chatzidakis, Δῆλος – Κεραμικὴ ἀπὸ τὸν δρόμο βόρεια τοῦ Ἀνδήρου τῶν Λεόντων, in: EllKer 3, 235–248

Book Reviews

Sarah A. James, Hellenistic Pottery. The Fine Wares, Corinth 7, 7.
American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Princeton, NJ 2018
360 pages, 45 ills, 48 figs, 44 pls, 3 plans, 3 tables
ISBN: 978–0–87661–077–0

Review by Brice Erickson

In the latest publication of the Corinth excavations, Sarah James draws on new evidence from deposits in the Panayia Field east of the Forum to construct a new account of the development of Corinthian fine wares in the 3rd and 2nd cent. BCE. This account seeks to redress issues left unresolved or in need of correction in the canonical study of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery presented by G. Roger Edwards[1]. J.'s focus is narrower in the sense that she deals exclusively with Corinthian fine wares and leaves out imported fine wares and the local cooking and coarse pottery that was also included in the earlier work. In another sense, the scope is significantly more expansive, for it reviews all the older material on which Edwards's chronology was based and adds to this a detailed study of six unpublished deposits.

We can expect this volume to become a fundamental resource for scholars working on Hellenistic pottery and, indeed, more generally the archaeology and history of Corinth and the Peloponnese. For this very reason, the stakes are high for any new account of the development and chronology of Corinthian pottery. J. frames her study in an historical context in Chapter One. The turbulent political history of the northeastern Peloponnese in the 3rd century and the frequently changing balance of power as Corinth fell under Macedonian control and then joined the Achaian League before falling to Macedonia again provide a general frame for historical analysis. Here she makes the case that a more nuanced historical picture of Hellenistic Corinth – a fuller political, social, and economic history – will require a more robust engagement with archaeological evidence. We are still in the early stages of these efforts, and pottery has played less of a role than coins and inscriptions so far. The poor publication record for Hellenistic pottery in this region and the difficulty establishing reliable ceramic chronologies is partly to blame. Graham Shipley's recent book embraces a more expansive view of evidence that includes coins and inscriptions but shows the longer road ahead for a fuller integration of pottery and other classes of archaeological information[2].

The discussion in Chapter One focusses on three unresolved issues regarding the Corinthian ceramic repertoire and Hellenistic history. The first is when the Hellenistic period begins in ceramic terms at Corinth. The starting point for Edwards was 338 BCE, a conclusion based in part on the assumption that the construction of the South Stoa in the Forum area of Corinth began this early and that the earliest pottery from contexts associated with the building went back to its construction. These deposits contained characteristic Hellenistic shapes, what J. refers to as the »Hellenistic ceramic koine« in a suggestive phrase placing Corinth in a network of other Hellenistic centres formulating a common new material culture (pp. 1. 97. 150). J. adopts a later date than Edwards for the earliest Hellenistic ceramic phase at

1 Edwards 1975.

2 Shipley 2018, 7–8. 215–224.

Corinth and has good grounds to do so, following among others the publishers of an important deposit from a drain underlying the South Stoa and therefore laid before the construction of the building[3]. This deposit (revisited as deposit A in J.'s study) dates to the end of the 4th cent. and lacks typical Corinthian Hellenistic shapes, suggesting they were introduced later and requiring a significant adjustment to Edwards's chronology.

If the Hellenistic period begins in ceramic terms later than Edwards thought, the next question is when does it end. This is an exceedingly thorny topic and demands consideration of historical events. The conventional view is that the attested destruction of Corinth by Mummius in 146 BCE devastated the town, with local production of pottery ceasing until the refoundation of Corinth as a Roman colony in 44 BCE – what is known as the ›interim‹ period. For Edwards, the latest deposits of material in the wells of the South Stoa should date to this destruction and provide a terminus for Corinthian Hellenistic pottery production as a whole. But this can now be seen as a questionable assumption as Greek archaeologists apply a more critical lens to literary accounts describing military devastation and ruined cities. J. weighs the literary accounts and employs archaeological evidence to suggest some sort of presence in the interim period. The evidence previously available consisted entirely of imports and had been explained as foreign merchants (perhaps Italian) accommodating a greatly reduced Corinthian population (pp. 8–9). J.'s contribution comes in her argument that local pottery production continued after 146 BCE; in particular she assigns a date of 120–75 BCE to one of the new deposits from the Panayia Field (deposit M). This could herald a paradigm shift in our understanding of Corinthian history, raising expectations of continuity in religious, social, and other spheres of life, whereas a past generation of scholars have emphasized a sharp break.

But can we date deposit M so late? Unfortunately, the crucial evidence on which the late date rests – imported Eastern Sigillata ware and a local lamp from this unpublished deposit – are not sufficiently documented here or elsewhere to allow the reader to form an independent judgment (here pp. 10–12. 53–55 ill. 19)[4]. Raising further concerns, another Corinthian pottery expert, Kathleen Slane, disagrees that the imports in question date after 146 BCE or are even Eastern Sigillata, a conclusion J. cites but does not address (p. 54 note 98). Greater documentation of the deposit might change minds, but for now those who see a gap in the local sequence after 146 BCE have as good a place or better to stand. The degree of continuity J. envisions in local pottery production is left rather murky – did it continue unabated all the way to the Roman colony or was deposit M a blip in a tenuous existence of Corinth as a village, town, or something else? Indeed, the fact that local pottery in deposit M so closely resembles the contents of deposit L, dated to around 150 BCE, seems a good reason for dating deposit M before 146 BCE. The South Stoa wells, J. suggests, contain interim period material, including some moldmade bowls (such as cat. no. 118, p. 16), but this is a hard case to make without the anchor of an unequivocally dated context within the interim period.

The third chronological issue J. faces is the pace of developments in the Corinthian repertoire between the introduction of Hellenistic shapes after 310 BCE and the end point of 146 BCE (or later). The new evidence from the Panayia Field comes into play here in a more significant way, prompting J. to conduct a thorough review of the chronological underpinnings of the Corinthian fine-ware sequence. This leads her to make significant adjustments to the accepted chronology, with generally later dates than found in Edwards. A better understanding of Attic Hellenistic pottery is partially responsible for the discrepancy between their dating systems, for we now know from Susan Rotroff's work that Attic imports found in Corinthian deposits should themselves be dated later than originally thought[5]. But there is a methodological difference as well that separates the two approaches, for J. employs frequency seriation to date the local wares. Seriation basically assumes, as James Deetz put

3 McPhee – Pemberton 2012.

4 Cf. Sanders et al. 2014.

5 Rotroff 1997.

it in a classic work, that cultural traits »will have small beginnings, grow in popularity until a peak is reached, and then fade away«[6]. As an example, J. charts the popularity of one cup type, the articulated kantharos, as a percentage of all drinking cups and fine ware totals in each deposit, where the deposits are ordered chronologically (p. 24 ill. 5). This parabolic graph recalls Deetz's »battleship-shaped curves« , with the bulge in the middle reflecting the period of greatest popularity. The ceramic signature of each deposit—the relative percentages of various shapes – can serve as independent evidence for dating, with different signatures seen as representing different points in time. J. calculates »similarity coefficients« for each deposit, an amalgamated score averaging the ratios for every fine ware shape as a proportion of the fine ware total (pp. 229–230).

Driven largely by her seriation studies, J. embarks on a systematic downdating of deposits and creates a revised pottery chronology. But this is often difficult to reconcile with the dating evidence provided by imports, as the following examples will show. Following the South Stoa drain deposit (discussed above) comes the fill of a cistern from the Forum South Central area (deposit B), dated by its publishers to the late 4th cent. but pushed down by J. into the early 3rd on the basis of »similarity coefficients«, a reference to seriation methods applied to the local wares (p. 32). The absence of typical Hellenistic drinking cup forms such as the one-piece cup, cyma, and calyx kantharoi from this or the next context (deposit C), dated by imports to the second quarter of the 3rd cent., suggests that these shapes have not yet entered circulation at Corinth. The discrepancy with the import derived dates for these deposits is not much (around 20 years) but troublesome nonetheless. No explanation is given for the failure of imports to give an accurate measure of time, such as an argument that Corinth no longer received a steady flow of imports. We see a determined effort to push down the pottery dates also spreading into other areas such as the construction of the South Stoa, highlighting the importance of this building in efforts to define the Hellenistic transition. In a separate study documenting a 2015 excavation, J. downdates the South Stoa from the late 4th cent. as suggested by coin evidence to the 280s BCE based on the worn condition of several examples and an inferred lag between their production and deposition, but this is not a necessary conclusion[7].

With the next deposit D, we enter the third quarter of the 3rd cent. and cross an important threshold from no representation to the full-blown appearance of characteristic Hellenistic cup shapes, a pattern seemingly in contradiction to the smooth growth assumption of seriation. Next in the series, deposit E presents an even more discordant note with respect to chronology and seriation. The method of dating by the latest imports should place this in the first quarter of the 3rd cent., but the local pottery signature as determined by seriation pulls the date down to the last thirty years of the 3rd cent., a difference of half a century (p. 41). The result is a severe discrepancy between import dating and seriation methods. Here we have not just a deposit dated later than it would be otherwise but one that actually leapfrogs in the series past another with later imports. If deposit E really belongs in the first quarter of the 3rd cent., as the import record suggests, the proper sequence should be A-B-C-E-D and the introduction of typical Hellenistic shapes such as the cyma kantharos would have occurred by around 275 BCE, not a quarter century later as J. would have it. Seriation exerts its strongest downward pull at this point, with deposits F and J brought down to around 200 BCE, fifty years later than the date suggested by imports (pp. 42. 47). The dates for these deposits fundamentally matter because they become the basis for the new pottery chronologies.

Seriation can work in an archaeological setting if the different ceramic signatures of the deposits can be understood as a function of time and not some other factor(s). Each deposit must be seen as essentially comparable, giving an accurate measure of what was in circulation at a given moment in time. But the more we view the archaeological record as malleable and shaped by different social processes in the past and decisions in the present about what to

6 Deetz 1977, 67. See also Dethlefsen – Deetz 1966.

7 James 2019, 176–179.

save, it becomes more difficult to attribute such patterns to chronological variation alone. J. concludes that most of the Corinthian deposits are essentially comparable because they are the same type, domestic as defined by a ratio of 10 % fine ware, 10 % cooking, and 80 % coarse ware (p. 26). Yet the precise context – a floor, a well, a cistern – even if we label it domestic, might differ in content at the detailed level of analysis where seriation operates. Moreover, the decision to include material from the South Stoa wells in rooms interpreted as shops (deposits N-S) runs the risk, as J. acknowledges (pp. 27. 59), of creating a distorted pattern with higher concentrations of cups than expected in a domestic context. It is difficult to see these deposits as straightforward snapshots of circulation patterns at Corinth, especially since many of them seem to have taken a long time to accrue and contain material of different dates.

Another issue raised by seriation is what to make of smaller deposits that do not lend themselves to quantitative comparisons. Should this material be excluded from efforts to revise the pottery chronology? J. excludes them but risks ignoring valuable information from smaller associations such as deposit S-37, a grave containing a coin and other material dating to the early 3rd cent. (p. 325). Since this grave also contains a cyma kantharos, it should contribute to the question of when the Hellenistic ceramic repertoire appeared at Corinth and lead to an earlier date than postulated by J.

Another way to evaluate seriation is to look at the results themselves and ask whether the graphs for individual shapes conform to smooth cycles of growth, peak, and decline. The kantharoi arguably come closest to meeting these expectations (p. 84 ill. 24), but there are countless examples fluctuating widely in incoherent patterns with sharp peaks and valleys, such as the Hexamilia cups (p. 91), and nearly all the bowls and most of the plates (pp. 102–119). More could have also been made of Corinthian exports to other sites where they appear in chronologically meaningful contexts and offer a test of the new chronology, such as at Lerna[8]. These point to a problem with seriation assumptions and suggest we need to think differently about how new innovations gained a foothold in a past accessible to us only through archaeology. Few have addressed these issues explicitly for Hellenistic Greece, but an exception, Rotroff's study of the moldmade bowl in Athens, relies on a different theory of innovation and growth to posit a lag in time (approximately 40 years) between invention and profitable production on a significant scale, suggesting a more complicated life cycle than encapsulated by seriation[9].

These reservations prevent me from uncritically accepting the revised chronology for fine wares in Corinth 7, 7, but that should not overshadow the achievement of what will become the new starting point for those working with Corinthian pottery in the Hellenistic period, whether their interests lie in production and consumption patterns, pottery as dating evidence (with the cautions expressed above), or pottery as an aid for historical reconstruction. Some of the other strengths of Corinth 7, 7 are that it includes a full discussion of production techniques, revealing changes such as a shift from full gloss to partial dipping of vessels in the 3rd cent. (p. 65). We also have a noteworthy discussion of Corinthian fine-ware fabrics, one that incorporates Guy Sanders's unpublished work and reveals at least one fabric (Type C) that is a chronological marker of the late 3rd cent., when it appears alongside the introduction of new vessel types (p. 71). In the shape studies, J. pays close attention to manufacturing details and identifies traits signaling outside influence, predominately in the Attic series, but stops short of a comprehensive account of stylistic development for individual shapes with discrete stages. The catalogue entries provide a rich record of written descriptions, drawings, and photographs for others in search of parallels or attempting to construct a more refined typology.

J. is also attuned to the social significance of changes in pottery design, as illustrated by her discussion of the advent of plates without central depressions for sauce and what this development means with respect to changing dining practices at Corinth (p. 114). Her case for

8 Erickson 2018, 280–282 no. 629 fig. 262.

9 Rotroff 2006.

a Hellenistic ceramic koine emerging at Corinth in the 3rd cent. sets the introduction of new shapes against the background of Attic influence and Mediterranean connectivity, a case that can be made more forcefully once we have the publication of imports from the Panayia Field. Attic imports are the most reliable indicators of foreign influence, with the exception of an apparent break in the second half of the 3rd cent. that implies a degree of Corinthian autonomy in a crucial phase of ceramic innovation (pp. 72. 77. 88. 152). J. sees a second transformation in the late 3rd or early 2nd cent. as the Corinthian line shifted focus to plates and moldmade bowls that served as functional equivalents to cups (pp. 77. 151–153). In the end, further study of the ceramic records of Corinth and other Peloponnesian centres, including Argos and Stymphalos, can be expected to lay a firmer foundation for a more integrated approach to history, one that combines textual and archaeological sources and addresses a wider range of political, social, and economic issues.

Bibliography

Deetz 1977	J. Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life (New York 1977)
Dethlefsen – Deetz 1966	E. Dethlefsen – J. Deetz, Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries, American Antiquity 31, 1966, 502–510
Edwards 1975	G. R. Edwards, Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery, Corinth 7, 3 (Princeton, NJ 1975)
Erickson 2018	B. Erickson, The Historical Greek Village, Lerna 8 (Princeton, NJ 2018)
James 2019	S. A. James, The South Stoa at Corinth: New Evidence and Interpretations, Hesperia 88, 2019, 155–214
McPhee – Pemberton 2012	I. McPhee – E. Pemberton, Late Classical Pottery from Ancient Corinth, Corinth 7, 6 (Princeton, NJ 2012)
Rotroff 1997	S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, Agora 29 (Princeton, NJ 1997)
Rotroff 2006	S. I. Rotroff, The Introduction of the Moldmade Bowl Revisited: Tracking a Hellenistic Innovation, Hesperia 75, 2006, 357–378
Sanders et al. 2014	G. D. R. Sanders – S. A. James – I. Tzonou-Herbst – J. Herbst, The Panayia Field Excavations at Corinth: The Neolithic to Hellenistic Phases, Hesperia 83, 2014, 1–79
Shipley 2018	G. Shipley, The Early Hellenistic Peloponnese: Politics, Economies, and Networks 338–197 BC (Cambridge 2018)

Gabriel Mazor, Walid Atrash & Gerald Finkielsztejn, Bet She'an IV. Hellenistic Nysa-Scythopolis. The amphora stamps and sealings from Tel Iztabba

with a contribution by Anastasia Shapiro

IAA Reports 62
Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem 2018
181 pages, ill.
ISBN 978-965-406-680-8

Review by Marek Palaczyk

The Hellenistic city of Nysa-Scythopolis was first founded as a fortress and administrative centre on the southern hill Tel Bet She'an by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and re-founded on the northern hill Tel Iztabba by Antiochus IV around 175–170 BCE. A conflagration during the Hasmonean war of 108/107 BCE destroyed the whole area. The Roman city was constructed 57–55 BCE in some distance south-east of the Hellenistic remains, so Tel Iztabba offers the precise terminus ante quem of 108/107 BCE for all finds. The conquest of the city is an important boundary within the chronology of Rhodian amphora stamps (end of period V/ beginning of period VI) basic for absolute dating in Hellenistic times. The importance of the full publication of the stamps from this context is eminent[1], given that even a considerable number of excavations between 1940 and 2015 have uncovered a mere 5 % of the city area.

The volume is divided in four chapters supplemented by appendices of loci and baskets. Chapter 1, the introduction, presents a short history of the excavations, followed by a very summary description of archaeological remains in areas W and Z[2].

The main part – chapter 2 – gives a picture of the amphora stamps from the site. The short introductory section (pp. 13–20) summarises clearly all the important aspects of the class. Graphs and tables show at a glance the chronological and quantitative distribution of Rhodian stamps at the site. The following catalogue is organised according to the different excavations – making matters unnecessarily confusing[3]. After this, in a first section Rhodian amphorae are listed in chronological order, followed by small groups of stamps from other proveniences. 368 inventory numbers (mainly stamps, but also graffiti and whole amphorae) are specified: 95,42 % are Rhodian stamps, 312 of which are readable and datable. Around 80 % belong to the second half of the 2nd c. BCE. Seven Cnidian, six Coan, two Thasian und two unidentified stamps complete the collection. Along with the stamps an exceptional high

1 Fifty-one stamps found on Tel el Husn (Bet She'an) are discussed by D. T. Ariel, Stamped Amphora Handles from Bet–She'an: Evidence for the Urban Development of the City in the Hellenistic Period, in: J. Eiring – J. Lund (eds.), Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26–-29, 2002, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 5 (Athens 2004) and idem, The Stamped Amphora Handles, in: A. Mazor, Excavations at Tel Beth-She'an 1989–1996 I. From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period (Jerusalem 2006) 594–606.

2 A slightly longer presentation of the excavations was published recently in this journal by G. Mazor – W- Atrash, Nysa-Scythopolis: The Hellenistic Polis, JHP 2, 2017, 82–101. The final publication is in preparation.

3 For instance, the stamps of the eponym Andronikos appear under catalogue-nos. 73–74. 200 and 269.

quantity of graffiti (45) are listed. The descriptions of individual specimens are restricted to the most significant information. In some cases of badly preserved inscriptions a reference to the exact parallel, based on which the reading is reconstructed (for instance nos. 100 and 300), would be elucidating. For some readings one must trust in the great experience of the author alone, because either almost nothing can be seen on the stamp itself (nos. 5. 29. 167), or the preserved fragment is very small (nos. 199. 249). All but four names of eponyms known from period V are represented. And many of the dies used here are lacking in the Alexandria database[4], so the collection from Tell Iztabba is a welcome addition to it. Few hitherto unknown or very rare connections between eponym and fabricant are documented: Aristakos with Aphrodisios and Nikias I (nos. 265–266), Kallikrates III with Glaukias (no. 274), Teisamenos with Aphrodisios (no. 298) and possibly Teisamenos with Philotas (no. 295). The sequence of officials appearing on the stamps is based on the former works of the author and corresponds exactly to Cancardeş-Şenol[5].

In addition to the stamps the graffiti on the Rhodian amphorae, all of them scratched in after firing, are presented as well. In many cases, they consist in names or abbreviations. Of special interest is a group found at the same spot showing Π and P: in four cases P intersects Π in the middle (nos. 225. 287. 306. 320), in one case (no. 305) the letters follow each other. The reading proposed by Finkielsztejn: Π P O T Γ I, in one case (no. 305) Π P O T Γ E I, is hardly convincing. By contrast H and P in ligature (no. 315) or following each other (no. 270) are read as H and P! The chronological interval between the oldest and the youngest amphora featuring Π intersected by P is 40 years, which means that some vessels have been in use for such a long period of time.

A number of regrettable small editorial errors have occurred. Several photographs are upside down (nos. 164. 167. 207. 247. 253b), at no. 152 the stamps of eponym and fabricant are reversed. Some transliterations are incomplete or erroneous: no. 5: ›Ἐπὶ‹ was overlooked; no. 69: on the stamp a ›ζ‹ and not a ›σ‹ can be seen; at no. 98 the brackets in ›Ἐπὶ Κλ{ε}νο‹ are unnecessary – ›Κλενο‹ is well preserved; at no. 288b the brackets are facing wrong directions: Δ[αμοφ]ίλου instead of Δ]αμοφ[ίλου, and a Latin ›l‹ appears instead of a Greek ›λ‹ (the same at no. 282b), and so on. The reference to no. 185 made at no. 300 is wrong and no. 301 cannot be from the same die as no. 102, because the herm looks once to the left and once to the right. At no. 82 the eponym Timotheos is dated to 130–128 BCE, at no. 281 to 128 BCE; the same for Aristogenes: once to 130–128 BCE (no. 84) and later to 129 BCE (no. 278). The terminus *fabricant* – the role of the person in the Rhodian stamping system is still a subject of ongoing discussion[6] – is not being used consistently: at no. 208 it is said »secondary stamp used by the fabricant Midas«, but at no. 356 »secondary stamp (understood to be that of the potter that made the vessel)«.

The second part of the book deals with sealings found in the city, a very common category of material during antiquity, but rarely preserved in archaeological contexts. Chapter 3 presents 99 sealings, all of them with excellent pictures and exact descriptions, chapter 4 the petrological analysis of the bullae. The archive is precisely dated by stamps at 128 – 108/107 BCE and interpreted by the authors as a »private« one[7]. The impressions were made with signet rings on clumps of clay that were evidently used to seal papyrus rolls. The rolls must have been burnt, the clay being baked and the sealings preserved in the process. More than half of the images on the *bullae* show Greek mythological characters, first of all Athena (nos. 1–20),

4 www.amphoralex.org.

5 G. Cancardeş-Şenol, Lexicon of Eponym Dies on Rhodian Amphora Stamps 4 (Alexandria 2017) 215–218.

6 At last C. Börker, Der ΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ und die rhodischen Amphorenstempel, ZPE 209, 2019, 78–90.

7 The remark that the Kallipolis archive was a private one runs contrary to the opinion of the excavator P. Themelis, Ausgrabungen in Kallipolis (Ost-Aeolien) 1977–1978, AAA 12/2, 1979, 245–273. Themelis calls it »zweifellos das offizielle Stadtarchiv« (p. 265).

followed by Tyche. But also, the local divinity Nysa with infant Dionysos is represented in five examples (nos. 21–25). Another group presents male portrait busts (nos. 53–72), some of them possibly of official nature, but none can be identified[8]. Only two sealings are considered to have an official character without doubt (nos. 87 and 75). Petrological analysis of the fabrics used for the *bullae* reveals that more than a half of the sealings are of local origin, a quarter come from the region and only few have travelled greater distances, viz. from Greece or Cyprus. So the sealings help to differentiate and enrich the picture of the contacts of the city as it has been given by the amphorae.

This refreshing compact volume is an important contribution not only to local history, but also to Hellenistic life in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. Its large collection of eponym and fabricant names and their connections within period V of Rhodian chronology allows new thoughts about the fine tuning of their sequence. The work benefits from the authors' great experience and knowledge of the local situation and the complexity of international networks during Hellenistic times.

8 Cf. the most recent publication on official Hellenistic portraits on bullae: H. Kyrieleis, Hellenistische Herrscherporträts auf den Siegelabdrücken aus Paphos (Paphos IV B), AF 34 (Wiesbaden 2015).

H. Todorova (ed.), Durankulak 3. Die hellenistischen Befunde

VML Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rahden/Westf, 2016
272 pages, 408 Ills., 3 maps, 52 pls.
ISBN-13: 978-3-86757-015-2; ISBN-10: 3-86757-015-9

Review by Reyhan Şahin

This work constitutes the third volume of the excavation results in Durankulak, a site in north-eastern Bulgaria at a distance of 2.5 km from the Black Sea. The book comprises different articles related to the research on the Kybele Temple on the Big Island of Lake Durankulak. The contributions are written in German and English. Each contribution has a summary in Bulgarian at the beginning, and there is an extensive English summary at the end.

In her introductory chapter (pp. 6–11) H. Todorova cites from St. Stratiev: »Unpublizierte Kenntnisse sind keine Kenntnisse« (unpublished knowledge is no knowledge at all). She dedicated this chapter to Dr. Johannes Burow, the designated editor who could not finish the publication because of his unexpected demise in 2001. Hence, Todorova took over his mission. In the same chapter, Todorova pays tribute to J. Burow, describing the difficult conditions during the excavations in the years 1991–1996 due to the economic crisis in Bulgaria, and pointing out how Burow worked voluntarily, in particular on the documentation of the finds from the offering pits. The amphora stamps, already published by a colleague, are also integrated in the volume. After having completed the editing in 2013, Todorova herself passed away in 2015 before the publication of the book.

In his introductory chapter Burow (pp. 23–30) accentuates the contributions of H. Todorova, the director of the excavations in cooperation with the Dobritsch museum. The excavations began in 1974 under the auspices of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences on the Big Island in Lake Durankulak. At that time work concentrated on the Neolithic and Eneolithic layers. In 1979 the excavation area was widened to the west coast of the lake and was thoroughly examined from south to north between 1979–1996; in the south-west and especially in the northern necropolis Greek amphoras were discovered. In 1991 the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin received the request to document and study the Durankulak excavations (p. 24), and for this purpose further excavations were initiated in the areas of the island and the ›Grubenareal‹ (pit area) on the west coast of the Durankulak lagoon (see map 2 on p. 25). In the earlier years of the excavations the Hellenistic finds had not been documented thoroughly as the research focused on the Neolithic graves; in the later excavations a Hellenistic cave temple and votive pits were unearthed, and it became clear that both were connected (for the location map see p. 26).

In their joint chapter (pp. 27–30) J. Burow and H. Todorova present the geography of the south Dobrudscha region, known as part of Scythia Minor in north-eastern Bugaria, where Durankulak is located. In many cities like Odessos, Dionysospolis, Bisone, and Callatis archaeological research is difficult, as they are partly under water or were continuously settled until modern times. Hence, these north-eastern cities are less known in comparison to the cities further south such as Mesambria and Apollonia in south-eastern Bulgaria. Furthermore, the authors deal with the geography of West Pontos and summarise its history from the 7th to

the 3rd cent. BCE, providing an extensive bibliography. In the following chapter (pp. 31–34) H. Todorova writes on the geography of Durankulak during the 3rd cent. BCE, again with an extensive bibliography.

The chapter on the Hellenistic cave sanctuary of the goddess Kybele on the Big Island (pp. 35–50), written by I. Vajsov, G. Mavrov, and H. Todorova, is one of the most significant contributions. The authors examine the location, the geological set-up and the architectural plan of the temple, constructed on bedrock. The sanctuary comprises an almost square porticus, a corridor, an entrance hall and the east and west halls. The cult statue was positioned in the east hall. Based on the evidence of water flow in the west hall the authors conclude that it was apparently used for offerings. With regard to building techniques the authors deduce from the chisel marks on the walls in entrance room, running in downward direction to the platform level (fig. 38) that the floor of the cave sanctuary was carved in a downward slope (p. 43).

The retrieved small finds, among them black-glazed pottery, amphora stamps from 310–300 BCE, the fragment of a lead satyr head and a votive stele with a profiled pediment (fig. 40) suggest that the sanctuary was founded in the late 4th cent. BCE and used most intensively between 285/280 – 270/265. The latest datable finds are from the late 3rd cent. BCE, a date corresponding to the end of votive offerings in the pits and of interments of the Hellenistic Nivata settlement in the necropolis on the west bank of Lake Durankulak. The rise of the sea level was probably the main reason for the abandonment of the area (p. 44).

The establishment of the rock-hewn cave sanctuary documents the Anatolian impact on the Kybele worship in Durankulak (p. 48). The dimensions of the temple and the numerous votive pits of different sizes can be interpreted as clues to a sanctuary of interregional importance (p. 49). In the same chapter, the authors discuss the Anatolian origin of the Kybele cult and her earliest worship by the Phrygians in Anatolia. They also examine the Kybele votive stele from the sanctuary and survey the tradition of cave sanctuaries for the goddess Kybele. Depictions of the seated Goddess are quite common in the Pontos and entire Mediterranean regions. The text is enriched by maps, architectural plans and photos of the votive stele, architectural marble fragments, and pottery. For understanding the stratigraphy of the cave sanctuary the profile drawings from different sectors are very helpful (figs. 2–4 on p. 40).

In the next chapter (pp. 50–54) J. Burow and H. Todorova describe the vicinity of the cave sanctuary. There is a well at a distance of fourteen meters from the western entrance to the temple. The mouth is ring-shaped with a dimater of 1 m and a small edge on its north-eastern side. A small house for votive deposits was built at the foot of the south-western slope of the island. On its north wall there is a well preserved hearth. The entire floor surface of the building is covered with a black layer which contains a considerable amount of ash. Fragments of a votive plate, measuring 50 x 40 cm, came to light in the 10 cm thick ash layer of the hearth, and the authors interpret the find as evidence for small-scale votive practices (p. 539). The entrance to the cave sanctuary is located on the western shore of the island. Post-holes carved in the bed-rock indicate that there was a roofing system over the entrance (pp. 53–54).

Of particular importance is the chapter on the votive pits, written by J. Burow (pp. 55–68). Seventy-one of the ninety-one votive pits excavated date from the Hellenistic period, indicated on a plan (fig. 49 on p. 56). The different assemblages of votive offerings are numbered from A to D. The votive pits are cylindrical or pear-shaped, the latter with the widest diameter above the pit floor. They were filled with a thick ash layer and burned objects (fragments of pottery and metal objects as well as bones, probably of horses, rams, pigs, and goats). The Hellenistic votive pits were surely connected to the Kybele sanctuary, and based on the pit evidence, J. Burow concludes that in Durankulak Kybele was worshipped as ›mother earth‹.

In the Balkans votive pits are generally common, with numerous examples on the Black Sea coast, in Romania, Turkey and also in Bulgaria. In Durankulak votive pits were already in use during the late Bronze and early Iron Ages (p. 64), and since the foundation of the Greek colonies in the West Pontos region, the mother goddess was worshipped in this region, documenting the contacts between Thrace and Anatolia during the years 1200–800 BCE (p. 64).

The chapter ends with a table summarizing the crosswise connections of the sacrificial pits (table 1 on p. 64). A separate inventory lists the contents of the pits (pp. 65–68).

H. Todorova examines the sacrifice practices and rituals in the next chapter (pp. 69–72). She describes how the sacrificial animals were slaughtered and skinned. The entrails were set aside for the deity and placed on the pit floor to be burned. As a result, the pit floor is usually greasy. After each offering ceremony the fire was left to sear and the remains of the sacrificial animals were swept aside, creating the sacrificial dump (p. 70).

In a separate chapter metall items and clay objects are presented as well as the botanical remains from the votive pits (pp. 73–76). Noteworthy are a bronze arrow head, a lead comb fragment, loom weights and spindle whorls.

J. Burow provides detailed information about the amphora stamps from Durankulak, including relevant parallels (pp. 77–92). The brief commentaries by D. Jordanova and T. Dimov (pp. 99–104) help to track the distribution of the amphoras from different origins; vessels from Thasos (35 %), Sinope (30 %) and Herakleia Pontika (12.5 %) represent the significant classes during the Hellenistic period (p. 100).

The pottery assemblages of the votive pits are examined by J. Burow (pp. 105–118). Fine and coarse pottery constitute the bulk of finds, with amphoras forming 50–60 %. Among the vessels considered to be local products are coarse hand-made and thick-walled pots in a dark fabric (pp. 105–106). Various forms are represented: amphoras, jugs, kantharoi, bowls of different sizes, plates, fish plates, balsamaria, pyxides, lamps, and cooking pots, covering the usual household repertoire.

The animal bones of the votive pits are examined by J. Burow and H. Todorova (pp. 119–120), followed by a catalogue listing find-spots, animal species, and bone and assessing the meat quantity dished out to each participant of the offering ceremony (pp. 121–124). The measurements, state of preservation and full contents of the votive pits are documented in an additional catalogue, written by J. Burow and H. Todorova (pp. 125–136).

A brief description of the Kybele Sanctuary from Dionysopolis (a city south of Durankulak) on Black Sea written by. I. Lazarenko, E. Mirtscheva, and R. Entscheva is also added (pp. 137–142). The sanctuary was built between 280–260 BCE. The original plan (pronaos, naos, and entablature of the temple) is based on the extent ruins. There is a water basin (louterion) almost in the middle of the temple. From a number of inscriptions, we know that here the goddess was worshipped as ›Meter Theon Pontia‹, ›Meter Pontia‹ and ›Thea Pontia‹, hence the sanctuary is called the Metroon, interpreted as a local modification of the goddess (p. 139). The text is enriched by illustrations: The groundplan of the temple, the photos of the extent remains, the cult statue of Kybele, the louterion, a votive stele, the pediment of the sanctuary and marmor stelae with inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Hellenistic and late Antique burials from the Nivata settlement on the west bank of Lake Durankulak are evaluated by T. Dimov (pp. 143–174) . Forty-one inhumation interments, excavated between 1979–1990, are classified in five typological groups[1]. Twenty-nine Hellenistic graves[2], dated by pottery to the 3rd cent. BCE or slightly later, are contemporaneous with the Kybele Sanctuary and the votive pits. The graves and their contents are listed on p. 157 (pl. 9), including the anthropological information like age, sex and burial type and comparanda with regard to typology and grave goods. The author emphasizes their unique character, pointing out »that the Type IV burials (graves enclosed with an orthostat) can be in relation with the contacts between the Scythians and Sarmatians and the Thracian and the Getic world during

1 The first group of inhumations are in stone cists, oriented to the west. In the second group the rectangular or oval burial areas are dug into the loess. They are oriented to the east or west. They have vertical sides covered with stone slabs or unworked stones. In the third group the graves are oriented to the east. They are grave pits with vertical walls on the sides but without a stone slab. In the fourth group (2nd cent. BCE – 2nd cent. CE) the graves are with a barrier wall (they are closed with orthostats). The fifth group consists of rectangular catacombs with a dromos and a burial chamber (p. 154).

2 See nos. 1. 5. 7–8. 10. 13. 18. 20–22. 24. 28. 30–36. 43. 45. 52. 99. 278. 282. 341. 407. 419. 441.

the Hellenistic and late Roman Period« (p. 158). He supports this idea by written sources from Moldova and defines the Dobrudscha as a contact zone between Thracian and Getic tribal communities, the Russian steps, the Carpathian Mountains and Thrace and Asia Minor to the south (p. 159).

M. Oppermann compares the data available from Durankulak with Kybele monuments from the pre-Roman period in the West Pontos and thus integrates them in the wider geographical and archaeological context of the Pontos region (pp. 179–184). The following chapter by O. Höckmann addresses the subject of seafaring in the Pontos Euxinos, focussing on the region from Berezan/Olbia to Georgia and to the north of the Black Sea. Chronologically, he deals with Copper Age, the evidences from about 2000 BCE, the time of colonisation (8th–7th cent. BCE) until the Hellenistic period (pp. 185–198) and also refers to piracy in the Pontos during the Hellenistic period (pp. 193–194).

For the Hellenistic period palynological and paleobotanical data from Durankulak furnish evidence that some species, such as pistacchio and olive, were consumed but not grown in the area, and were imported from the Balkans (pp. 199–200). The results of the geoarchaeological surveys in Durankulak yielded information about the ancient geography of the region (pp. 201–210) and established that Lake Durankulak did not exist during the Neolithic Age (5300/5200– 4750 BCE) and that the coast in prehistoric times was further inland compared to the modernday coast (p. 204).

In sum, the book is an important contribution for the veneration of Kybele in the Balkans. No other substantial publications exist about the investigations on the Big Island and on the site of the votive pits in Durankulak. In this respect the volume is remarkable. Contributions in German and Bulgarian, together with an extensive English summary, invite many readers in a broad scholarly forum to make use of the publication.

Yet, some critical remarks need to be put forward. There are certain inconsistencies in the sequence of the chapters, for example, between pages 13–20 I. Vasjov introduced the archaeological find-spots on the Big Island and west coast of the Durankulak lagoon, referring to the excavations accomplished between 1974–2007. Then, this chapter is followed by an introduction by J. Burow and H. Tododorva. There are also some repetitions throughout the text, for example, the locations of the Big Island, the cave sanctuary (pp. 35. 51) and the votive pits are repeated several times. Also, additional comparanda for the Kybele Temple and the votive pits would have presented a broader spectrum for emphasizing the significance of the material which is described in detail, but lacking more comparisons. This observation holds true also for the welcome extra chapter on the Kybele Sanctuary of Dionysiopolis on the Black Sea coast.

Idit Sagiv, Representations of Animals on Greek and Roman Engraved Gems. Meanings and Interpretations

Archaeopress, Oxford 2018
vi+198 pages, 98 ills. (51 pls. in colour)
ISBN: 978-1-78491-869-9 (printed); ISBN: 978-1-78491-870-5 (e-publ.)

Review by Shua Amorai-Stark & Malka Hershkovitz

Idit Sagiv's 2018 monograph, a modified version of her 2015 PhD thesis, is a fine example of the scholarship we have come to expect from Archaeopress Academic Publishing on specialized archaeological classical subjects. It is a welcome book addition to the growing interest in the present field of classical glyptics, and all the more so because it discusses the vital sub-subject of animals in the field of glyptics throughout the Greco-Roman period as an important aspect of an ongoing developing culture. Many modern publications deal with the appearances, meanings and interpretations of specific groups of animals or with that of a single animal in Greek and Roman visual art or in texts throughout the ancient world or in a specific region. Some of them include also important discussions on depictions of animals in glyptics of both periods or in one period only. Yet, the subject of all major species of animals depicted in ancient engraved gems, while concentrating on their meaning, has rarely before been treated as a unified whole. S. discusses the glyptic depictions of all the major animal species (mammals, insects, etc.), underlines that of certain animals, mentions their manifestations in ancient sources and at the same time compares them to their depictions in various other ancient art media, attempting to identify the historical, cultural and religious concepts behind the themes depicted on the engraved gems.

The monograph comprises 66 engraved gems illustrated in more than 100 photos and drawings. These are very good, enlarged colour photographs of most gems' surface devices; some excellent colour photos of the scarabs' top and sides, and of the bezel and sides of most of the intaglios still set in ancient finger rings. The photos are an important addition for the dating of the gems and their usage. Also represented are great colored or black and white clear photos of the impressions of most engraved surfaces and/or their drawn illustrations. The overall quality of plates is good, though a few drawings are interpretations and not exact replicas of the originals. All plates are professional, high quality products of the photographic department of the Israel Museum. This combined approach of photographing, illustrating, and drawing is clearly the best modern academic way to illustrate pieces of this small media art. It positively presents not only the images but also their stones, range of colours, engraving styles, forms and settings for further research and impresses on their viewers their deferring qualities, some ancient trends in glyptics, and the beauty of many.

The study starts with an ›Introduction‹ which presents a solid, coherent summarized history of Greek and Roman gemstones (scaraboids, intaglios, and cameos), the influences of ancient Mesopotamian, Near Eastern and Egyptian glyptics and addresses the most recent research issues, debates and problems encountered in the field. It also emphasizes the problems associated with depictions of animals on gems, such as their diverse iconography and styles, covering the nearly 1000 years (Archaic Greek to late Roman periods) discussed in the book.

The author explains here the aims of research:

»[It] focuses on a group of about 70 gems (intaglios only) kept at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and which has not yet been published. This group will serve as a test group for the broader subject of animal representations on Greek and Roman gems.... for this purpose comparison will be made with other gems kept in international collections. The characteristics and meanings of animal depictions in the ancient world will be examined within various media .... [She asks] whether the miniature media allowed for the selection of symbols that did not appear in the larger media, and if so what were the reasons for this... The question of what happened when the depictions of animals were transferred to other media and whether the gems convey other meanings is a weighty methodological question. The study seeks to examine what was the uniqueness of animal imagery on ancient gems compared to other media, and what is the significance of this distinction.... In addition, an attempt will be made to address the question of whether there is a connection between the choice of a certain gemstone and the image portrayed on it« (pp. 4–5). Indeed, the book does address all these aims and questions, but in varied length, depth, and success.

The study is divided into two major parts, with additional smaller parts, summary, abbreviations and an extensive bibliography of ancient sources and of modern research centered on animals in ancient times, on ancient gems in general and on animals in Greek and Roman glyptics in particular.

The first main part is entitled ›Engraved Gems: a survey‹. It is a concise survey of Greek and Roman glyptics in general; an up-to-date summary of the basic concepts and problems related to ancient glyptics. The survey is divided into seven chapters:

1. ›The Uses of Engraved Gems‹ (as seals, amulets and jewellery). This admirable discussion could have benefitted from mentioning some of the more recent publications (mainly post-2014 ones) in order to arrive at a more nuanced picture of the relative uses of gems in the Greek world (for example on gems as amulets) and the Roman World (for example, the up-to date notions on uses of intaglios at the end of the Roman and the early Byzantine periods).

2. ›The Materials used for ancient gems‹ (chalcedonies or non-crystallising quarts; crystallising quarts; harder, more precious stones; inferior varieties). On the whole, this survey is adequate. However, in its explanations of the popular appearance of some colored stone sub-types, it is at times too brief, or incomplete. For instance, the information given on the use of black jasper or agate for gems during specific periods is partial and at times based too much on early publications[1]. In other cases, the infrequent use of other stones for gems, such as turquoise, black jet or sapphire during specific periods and in certain regions is not mentioned.

3. ›The Themes depicted on gems‹. In the past, identifying and researching the iconography of the gems' devices was the major scholarly effort in glyptics. Here, the presentation of this aspect of ancient intaglios is commendable, and though very short and summary, it is sufficient for a survey on the major themes within a monograph with the focal purpose on the study of animals represented on ancient gems. The opening general conclusion in this section, such as the statement that representations of animals on engraved gems derive their major influences from the fauna observed in the real world and from Greco-Roman mythology, is correct. The author's following observations are likewise truthful and very relevant to the chief topic of this monography: that our present-day ability to interpret correctly and to the full each animal depiction on gems, but also on larger art media, is rooted in the long time period that stretches from the date/s of their engraving to our time, from our incomplete knowledge, the ambiguous ancient information that came to us, and from the fact that usually each visual animal representation had more than one meaning, often entailing varying ancient representations with sometimes opposing meanings.

4. ›References to gemstones in ancient literary sources‹. This part is a first-rate, complete and helpful survey.

1 Such as Richter 1956.

5. ›Dating methods‹. Here, the limitations of our knowledge and modern methods are discussed. The author deals with the importance, usefulness and problems of each of the five dating methods presented:

A. ›The archaeological context‹. The discussion would have benefitted from more examples from excavated sites. While the evidence from excavations on the British Isles, particularly the finds from Bath, is presented, the scholarly conclusions derived from excavations and collections in Near Eastern countries are absent, in particular Turkey, Israel and Jordan, likewise studies from Egypt, Greece, Hungary and France.

B. ›The type and shape of the gemstone‹;

C. ›The technique and style of the gemstone‹;

D. ›The choice of themes‹.

The collected and studied information from the ancient engraved gemstones themselves has been paramount to the dating of ancient gems in scholarly research especially since the second half of the 20th cent. S. rightly stresses these typological, and iconographical aspects for dating, including the setting of gems in diverse types of jewels, especially in rings. Her elaboration on the stylistic modules developed by prominent glyptic scholars, above all M. Henig[2] and M. Maaskant-Kleibrink[3], is very helpful to all scholars of ancient gemstones.

E. ›Comparison to works in other media‹. The information discussed is obtained mainly from the field of Art History, presenting the major general conclusions arrived by scholars of this field with regard to the overall changing influences of different art media on the art of gemstones during different periods. This short, condensed survey is an opening to further studies, particularly helpful to archaeologists, general historians and researchers of ancient religions who are interested in the general trends of ancient art and those within specific media, and their relationship to the art of gemstones.

The last two sub-subjects discussed in the survey deal with the actual, practical ways ancient gemstones were produced, and our insufficient knowledge of them:

6. ›Carving technique‹;

7. ›The comparison to works in other media‹.

In these chapters the prevalent subject is the influence of large sculpture and especially of coins on gemstone artists, artisans and workshops. The author accurately explains that coins, like gems, are small products of similar sizes and mentions that some scholars have suggested that at certain periods gemstones were even produced in the same workshops as coins. However, on the whole the author refrains from addressing the influence of other small or medium size media on gemstone artists and workshops, for example of metal and stone statuettes, of images portrayed on ceramic lamps and statuettes, tesserae and tokens. S. also omits discussing the strong connections between engravers of stone gemstones and engravers of devices on bezels of all-metal finger rings and other metal jewel artifacts such as medallions and earrings. She ignores the links between producers of glass intaglios and the fewer figural depictions on other ancient glass products such as the small number of glass beads and medallions depicting figural motives and symbols. Recent research considers it is most likely that, especially during Roman times, the engravers of these small to medium size artifacts often produced their objects in the same workshops, or in workshops located in close proximity, and at times perhaps these small artifacts were even made by the same artisans.

Notwithstanding the voiced criticism the first main part of the book is a fine survey, presenting the major developments, research results, methods and problems of the Greco-Roman field of gemstones in a constructive way. It could well be a useful introduction text for students interested in Greek and Roman glyptics, for scholars from other fields, and for members of the general public curios about this specialized field.

2 Henig 1988; Henig 1992.

3 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1979; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992.

The second main part of the book, entitled ›Animal images and their meanings‹ does not purport to be a corpus of animal depictions on all gems but states clearly that the chosen animal gems are part of a collection based on a chance group of gems, derived from three collections bequeathed to the Israel Museum, Jerusalem in the 70's of the last century. These collections are haphazard. The overall number of ancient gems donated are neither given nor discussed. Not referred to are the groups of other common ancient glyptic subjects (such as divinities, portraits, humans, symbols, ›magical gems‹ etc.) in these collections; the information on the broad origins of some gems (for example, those said to come from the Near East, from Britain, Italy and so forth, or bought in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt etc., or coming from older collections); and the interests of their collectors.

In the introduction S. rightly elaborates on the everyday life and mythical origins of animals mentioned in texts and depicted in artistic media; on the ambivalent descriptions of animals in ancient literature stating that »on one hand [animals were] resembling human beings and expressing the same feelings...., and on the other expressing the impulse instincts and the irrational aspects of the soul« (p. 38). She also lists the varied associations with animals in antiquity: »Animals have been associated with deities, often accompanying them, and sometimes the gods used animals as their envoys, to intervene in life on earth and to communicate with humans... Various animals served as attributes of different gods, sharing with them similar qualities, mythology cult...« (p. 38). All these and other aspects of animals portrayed in art and their importance and significance in ancient sources are discussed.

Here, the author explains the breath and major topics discussed in the core chapters of her monograph regarding the major possible representation of animals on gems »as attributes of gods; as participants of gods and heroes; as symbols of victory, wealth and fertility; as participating in pastoral scenes; as bearers of apotropaic, magical and healing meanings; as astrological signs; as participating in pastoral scenes; and as bearers of political propaganda« (p. 39). All these aspects of animals in ancient literary and artistic sources have been suggested and dealt with in former publications, but the way S. explains the animal motifs engraved on the intaglios in the Israel Museum, bringing many references for each discussed animal in ancient sources, is refreshing.

The animals depicted on scarabs and gemstone intaglios in the Israel Museum collection are grouped according to their zoological nature:

Mammals (cattle, deer, goats, horses, boars and sows);
Predatory animals (panthers and lions);
Birds, Birds of Prey and Fowl (eagles, parrots, roosters, geese, swans);
Insects (ants);
Marine creatures (dolphins, seashells);
Hybrids (sphinx, Pegasus, Capricorn, hippocamp, Gryllos [Hippoalectryon]).

The given explanations, the meanings and interpretations elaborated with regard to the specific glyptic device found on the Israel Museum gems are perspicuous, wide-ranging and full. The elaboration on the plausible meanings of many other sub-motifs and scenes of each animal species that do not occur in the Israel Museum collection but are known from the corpus of Greek and Roman gems (and often also from other artistic media) is important, as they relate to the much larger group of the sub-motifs of the discussed animals. Hence, by presenting the larger, broader picture of the discussed glyptic animal representations, the different or close meanings of their sub-motifs and their popularity or rarity within the general corpus of animals in different periods and cultures are discussed in this study. The glyptic comparisons for each of the discussed species, and the references to their typological sub-devices missing from the Israel Museum collection expands the study of animals on gems and helps to understand the fuller picture of this subject. The factors for the dating of each animal depiction on the gems in the Israel Museum are explained. On the whole, this part of the study, defined as its core, is both clear and detailed.

The last two sections, entitled ›Interpretations between animal depictions in various media and their depictions on gems‹ and ›Associations between animal depictions and the types of gemstone and its believed qualities‹ are an important and useful contribution to the overall study of gemstones depicting animals. The discussions in these two parts are both clear and very helpful.

Finally, certain drawbacks need to be pointed out. Not included in the study are many animal species which occur in the general published corpus of gems. If after the title ›Representations of Animals on Greek and Roman Engraved Gems‹ the words ›from the Israel Museum Collections‹ would have been added, it would have been clear to the readers that only a limited number of animal depictions are discussed.

Most of S.'s comparanda are taken from some excavations in Europe, above all Britain, and mainly from published European collections with largely unknown provenance. Taking into account that at least some of the gems in the Israel Museum may have originated from Roman Palestine and various other regional sites, and that a substantial group of published gems comes from sites and excavations in the Levant and other Mediterranean countries, references to excavated or collected finds from sites in Eastern Mediterranean countries such as Greece, Macedonia (the Balkans at large), Turkey, the Levant and from Egypt and North African sites are missing. For instance, the animal depictions on the gems from the Israel Museum hardly include references to excavated and published parallels in the Levant, in particular sites in present-day Israel like Gamla (lion attacking a deer [or gazelle] the female crouching sphinx, Capricorn, butterfly), Masada (a lion, grazing horse, goddess with bird, boar head)[4] and in excavations in Jerusalem[5], at Dora[6], Jericho[7], Caesarea[8], and other sites[9].

Furthermore, while including some surface collected gems from Gadara[10] and from Caesarea Maritima[11], references to the more than 20 gems depicting animals within the overall 267 gems and seals collected from Egypt, Near Eastern countries, above all Lebanon, Syria,

4 Hershkovitz – Amorai-Stark 2007; Hershkovitz – Amorai-Stark 2016a.

5 Few animal gems see Hershkovitz 2003; Peleg-Barkat 2011.

6 For example, a horned leaping antelope (or deer) on a red stone intaglio (Stern 1994, 314 fig. 221 is similar to S.'s fig. 9, a–b, horned antelope leaping (or deer on an earlier red-orange carnelian scarab).

7 Hershkovitz – Amorai-Stark 2013, 130 fig. 4.1. The gem depicts a rider driving a quadriga. This carnelian is a sub-type variant of S.'s figs. 20; 21, a–b; 22, a–b depicting three different deities driving a quadriga (two carnelians and one heliotrop).

8 Patrich – Rafael 2008, 422 no. 22. The excavated agate set in an iron ring depicting a grazing horse is a fine comparanda to S.'s fig. 17 (agate) in its motif, stone and elongated ovoid shape, even though the smaller motifs of a lion and ram (?) head appearing next to the grazing horse on S.'s fig. 17 are absent from the Caesarea gem.

9 Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2011. The animal subjects of nos. 18, hound chasing a hare from Hagoshrim, and no. 19, a leaping hare from Caesarea do not appear in S.'s work. No. 21 winged she-sphinx sitting in profile from Gamla is an excellent comparison to S.'s figs. 52, a–b; 53, a–b; 54, a–b of the same subject. No. 20, a walking sphinx from Hagoshrim is a variation. No. 30, a–b, the shrimp motif from Manahat, Jerusalem is absent from the Israeli Museum collection. No. 31, a standing or walking elephant from Nahal Raqafot, Jerusalem represents a parade elephant, a political propaganda motif, while S.'s fig. 51 shows an elephant head emerging from a large sea-shell, it belongs to the group of combination gems with apotropaic meanings. No. 32, a goatherd milking a goat from Nahal Raqafot, Jerusalem and no. 33, the same motif from Bab el Hawa, near Jerusalem are excellent comparanda to S.'s fig. 14. As can be seen from the publications listed in notes 5–9, most excavated sites in present-day Israel brought to light one or two gems representing an animal. Further examples of single gems depicting an animal found at other sites are registered in the IAA.

10 Henig – Whiting 1987.

11 Hamburger 1968.

and present-day Israel included in the two collections in Jerusalem is minimal[12]; and to the circa 53 gems representing animals in the more than over 200 gems and cameos surface collected from Caesarea published after 1968[13], and to the three animal gems among the 12 gems in the Hecht Collection[14] are lacking. Among them are many identical animal motifs or the same motif with an additional symbol, such as a star or a wreath, to those discussed by S.; to some of the typological sub-types discussed by her in the elaborations on animal types within the Israel Museum collection, but to which no drawing or photos are given. In these collections there is also a large number of representations of animals which are not included at all in S.'s work or are just mentioned in her discussions of other animal types. Other gems appearing are sometimes depicted on the same gemstone type in the same or in close engraving styles, but occasionally in other, well documented styles. In these post-1968 and 1987 publications of excavated and collected gems from present-day Israel[15] there are very good comparanda to S.'s fig. 2, a: bull[16]; fig. 11, a–b: a goat browsing from a tree[17]; fig. 14: a countryman milking goat[18]; fig. 17: a grazing horse[19]; fig. 18: a horse galloping behind a palm-branch[20]; fig. 21, a–b: Helios/Sol riding a quadriga[21]; nos. 25, a–b; 26; 30: female panther with thyrsos[22]; fig. 33, a–b: a lion

12 Amorai-Stark 1993. Although this book appears in S.'s bibliography she frequently refrains from mentioning fine comparanda from it. To mention just one example: for her fig. 49, a–b, an ant with a grain of wheat, S. prefers to send the reader to comparanda in British museums, neglecting the same motif engraved on a 1st c. BCE to 1st c. CE garnet in the Jerusalem collections (SBF no. 121). This gem originates in Egypt or in a region in the Levant.

13 Amorai-Stark 1999; Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b.

14 Hershkovitz 1994. This collection's no. 7, representing a shepherd with a goat and tree, is a sub-type of S.'s fig. 15, shepherd with a dog, nursing goat and tree. No. 10 depicts an eagle, a variation of S.'s figs. 37–39, although the Hecht collection eagle does not stand on a pedestal yet his wings are spread like that of the eagle on S.'s fig. 38, and it holds a wreath in his beak like the eagles in her figs. 37. 39. No. 11, a bull pacing to the right represents – but for the absence of the star – the same stone (carnelian), motif and style as S.'s. fig. 2, a, side a, a bull and a star, and is of a similar early date.

15 Hamburger 1968; Amorai-Stark 1993; Stern 1994; Patrich – Rafael 2008; Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2011; Hershkovitz – Amorai-Stark 2013.

16 See Hershkovitz 1994.

17 See Amorai-Stark 1999; Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 128.

18 See Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2011, nos. 32–33; Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 120.

19 See Patrich – Rafael 2008; Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 116, the grazing horse is again depicted without the lion and ram (?) head in the field, but the gem's stone (agate), engraving style and date are the same as those of S. fig. 17.

20 S. identifies this horse as a galloping horse. This is not certain since its legs' posture suggests a walking or standing horse. She compares it to a similar horse with a winner in a race portrayed with a palm-branch on a gem in a German collection (p. 66). She does not mention that on gems other animals such as deer, goats and rams are depicted standing in front of a palm-branch. Such comparisons appear to us to be very relevant to S. fig. 18. See Henig – Whiting 1987, no. 350; Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 115. See also the variation of a walking horse turning its head backward, with a star above its head, Amorai-Stark 1993, fig. 6.

21 S. mentions in her elaboration on this motif (p. 70) beside comparisons from European collections also a comparison from Caesarea (Hamburger 1968, no. 21), however she does not send the reader to this same motif similarly depicted on a carnelian in two collections in Jerusalem, Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 80; in Henig – Whiting 1987, nos. 62–65; in Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 24 and to variants relevant also to her fig. 20 in Peleg-Barkat 2011, 265–268.

22 Amorai-Stark 1999, fig. 13. It is a fine, slightly earlier comparison to S. fig. 30. S. compares the female panther with a thyrsos to several gemstones in European collections but refrains for some reason to include the gem from Caesarea, although this article appears in her bibliography.

attacking a deer[23]; figs. 37–39: an eagle standing on a pedestal[24]; fig. 41: a rooster[25]; fig. 48: Ceres (-Demeter) holding ears of corn with an ant below[26]; fig. 49, a–b: an ant with a grain of wheat[27]; figs. 52–54: she winged sphinx seated in profile[28]; fig. 57, a–b: Pegasus[29]; fig. 59: capricorn[30]; fig. 60–61: Eros on hippocamp[31]; fig. 63: combination (gryllos)[32].

These and other collections from Egypt, the eastern Mediterranean and Balkans[33] give concrete examples to many motifs and sub-motifs mentioned in S.'s book, but they too are not referred to in her study.

As minor miscalculated aspect of the research is S.'s choice to include and discuss the few modern gems (mainly 18th century pieces) depicting animals haphazardly included in the Israel Museum Collection (for example figs. nos. 22, a–b; 46, a–b; 62, a–b). We think that even though the relationship between ancient Greek and Roman gemstones and their influence on Renaissance and post-Renaissance European glyptic is an important part of the overall revival of ancient art, it is a separated subject much discussed in recent publications on modern gems. These gems are treated in the book in the same length and detail given to the Greek to Roman animal subjects and specific gems, even though their subject does not pertain to S.'s study, outlined in the introduction. It would have sufficed to mention them in the introduction, explain why they are not to be discussed and perhaps only refer to each of them while discussing the ancient representations of horse, goose, and hippocamp, and their appearance in the Israel Museum Collections.

Summary

In all of its sub-subjects the book's first part is a good to excellent survey, while its second part's focus on animals on ancient gems gives a concise, detailed and interesting picture of the animals depicted on the Israel Museum gems with a broadening review related to the aims of this book.

23 The gem should have been compared also to an earlier yellow jasper from Gamla, Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016a, no. 2; Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 122 (same) and a variant to S. fig. 34, a–b, there no. 123.

24 Identical comparisons to these three gems beside those from Gadara (and European collections) that S. lists (p. 104) are absent from the above-mentioned publications of excavated gems and sites in present-day Israel. However, because S. discusses other sub-motifs of the eagle standing on a pedestal, with vexilla and wreath, mentions the involvement of eagles in dynastic narrations of emperors, coins etc. and hence in their propaganda, examples of an eagle standing on a pedestal with spread wings and a wreath could have been brought (see Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 136, eagle with outstreched wings standing on a cista or pedestral, upper part of gem broken). See also Hershkovitz 1994.

25 Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 147, and for S. fig. 42, a pair of roosters engaged in a fight, see the comparison in Amorai-Stark 1993, SBF no. 108, two roosters confronted after a fight.

26 Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 50.

27 Henig – Whiting 1987, no. 387; Hamburger 1968, no. 160; Amorai-Stark 1993, SBF no. 121; Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 132.

28 Amorai-Stark – Hershkoviz 2011, no. 21, a–b.

29 Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 158.

30 Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 155, and for S. fig. 58, capricorn with crab, see another sub-type of capricorn with animals and object, there no. 156 and Amorai-Stark 1993, PBI nos. 64–65.

31 Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, no. 101.

32 Amorai-Stark 1993, PBI no. 25, a very similar combination to S. fig. 63 (of same type, stone [carnelian] and date). Other combinations depicting different types of combinations are known, see Amorai-Stark 1993, SBF no. 60, PBI nos. 21–24; Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b, nos. 159–161.

33 See, for example, the comparanda of animal gems, and of animal sub-motifs from Egypt in El-Khachab 1963, from Turkey in Konuk – Arslan 2000 and from Hungary in Gesztelyi 2000.

One of the best aspects of this study is the literary evidence it provides for all the subjects and for most questions (some are pre-Greek and post-Roman texts, even Medieval ones, others are from ancient cultures bordering the Greco-Roman sphere). Such wealth of ancient sources occurs throughout the book. These detailed references include many direct quotes, some of which are hard to come by elsewhere, others are to be found scattered only in pre 1960–1970's articles and books. It is rare to find such an overall wealth of contextual information related to most aspects of Greek and Roman gemstones and to representations of animals on gems grouped together in a single monograph. These references to ancient texts and quotes, both to literary sources and to actual art works, will please specialists and will be extremely helpful to scholars of many ancient fields, but particularly to students of the glyptic field.

Bibliography

Amorai-Stark 1993	S. Amorai-Stark, Engraved Gems and Seals from Two Collection in Jerusalem (Jerusalem 1993)
Amorai-Stark 1999	S. Amorai-Stark, Gems, Cameos and Seals, in: R. Gersh (ed.), The Sdot-Yam Museum Book of the Antiquities of Caesarea Maritima (Tel-Aviv 1999) 87–113 (Hebrew with English Abstract on pp. 12*–13*)
Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2011	S. Amorai-Stark – M. Hershkovitz, Selected Gems from Israel, in: C. Entwistle – J. Adams (eds.), Gems of Heaven' Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity, c. AD 200–600 (London 2011) 105–113
Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016a	S. Amorai-Stark – M. Hershkovitz, Jewellery, in: D. Syon, Gamla 3. The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations 1970-1989. Finds and Studies, Part 2, IAA Report 59 (Jerusalem 2016) 97–189
Amorai-Stark – Hershkovitz 2016b	S. Amorai-Stark – M. Hershkovitz, Ancient Gems, Finger Rings and Seal Boxes from Caesarea Maritima. The Hendler Collection (Tel-Aviv 2016)
El-Khachab 1963	M. El-Khachab, A Collection of Gems from Egypt in Private Collections, JEA 49, 1963, 147–156
Gesztelyi 2000	T. Gesztelyi, Antike Gemmen im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum, Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Series archaeologica III A (Budapest 2000)
Hamburger 1968	A. Hamburger, Gems from Caesarea Maritima, Atiqot 8, 1968
Henig 1988	M. Henig, Review of: M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, The Engraved Gems. Roman and Non-Roman, JRA 1, 1988, 142–152
Henig 1992	M. Henig, The Bath Gem-Workshop: Further Discoveries, OxfJA 11, 1992, 241–243
Henig – Whiting 1987	M. Henig – M. Whiting, Engraved Gems from Gadara in Jordan: The Sa'd Collection of Intaglios and Cameos (Oxford 1987)
Hershkovitz 1994	M. Hershkovitz, The Gems from the Hecht Museum Collection, University of Haifa, Michmanim 7, 1994, 25–31 (Hebrew with English Abstract on pp. 39*–40*)
Hershkovitz 2003	M. Hershkovitz, Gemstones, in: Geva. Jewish Quarter Excavations by Nahman Avigad 1967–1982, 2. Finds from Areas S, W, and X-2. Final Report (Jerusalem 2003) 296–301

Hershkovitz – Amorai-Stark 2007	M. Hershkovitz – S. Amorai-Stark, The Gems from Masada, in: J. Aviram – G. Foerster – E. Netzer – G. D. Stiebel – A. Paris (eds.), Masada 8. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports (Jerusalem 2007) 217–232
Hershkovitz – Amorai-Stark 2013	M. Hershkovitz – S. Amorai-Stark, A Carnelian Gemstone from the Herodian Palaces at Jericho, in: R. Bar-Nathan – J. Gärtner, Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho. Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations 5. The Finds from Jericho and Cypros (Jerusalem 2013) 130
Konuk – Arslan 2000	K. Konuk – M. Arslan, Ancient Gems and Finger Rings from Asia Minor: the Yüksel Erimtan Collection (Ankara 2000)
Maaskant-Kleibrink 1979	M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Cabinet the Hague. The Greek, Etruscan and Roman Collections (The Hague 1979)
Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992	M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, Three gem engravers at work in a jeweller's workshop in Norfolk. The evidence of the Roman engraved gems in the jeweller's hoard found at Snettisham, BABESCH 67, 1992, 151–167
Patrich – Rafael 2008	J. Patrich – K. Rafael, The Jewelry, in: J. Patrich, Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima. Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Reports 1. The Objects (Jerusalem 2008) 421–431
Peleg-Barkat 2011	O. Peleg-Barkat, The Roman Intaglios from the Temple Mount Excavations, in: E. Mazar, The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamine Mazar, Final Reports 4. The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina, Qedem 52 (Jerusalem 2011) 255–304
Richter 1956	G. M. A. Richter, Catalogue of Engraved Gems. Greek, Etruscan, and Roman (Rome 1956)
Stern 1994	E. Stern, Dor. Ruler of the Seas (Jerusalem 1994)

Kalliope Bairami, Large Scale Rhodian Sculpture of Hellenistic and Roman Times
Η μεγάλη ροδιακή πλαστική των ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων
Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017.
XVIII+864 pages, 222 pls., 23 in colour. Greek text with 19 pages English summary.
ISBN: 978-1-78491-576-6 (printed); ISBN: 978-1-78491-577-3 (e-pub.)

Review by Natalia Kazakidi

The issue of sculpture workshops and centres of production has been the focus of much scholarly attention since Andreas Linfert's first systematic study on the subject[1]. The systematic documentation and publication of sculpture with a shared provenance is essential to advancing research in this respect. This is the context in which the objectives of this study, which represents Bairami's doctoral thesis, were framed. Although this study has the rather general title of ›Large Scale Rhodian Sculpture of Hellenistic and Roman Times‹, the catalogue of sculptures that forms the basis of the various chapters includes 105 works of sculpture in all, of which 57 have not previously been published. These are works that have entered the collection of the Rhodes Archaeological Service in the last forty-five years or so[2].

The book begins (perhaps somewhat unusually) with a long ›Introduction‹ in English (in fact, it is an abstract), which is not included in the pagination (on the editing of the book, see below). This is followed by the Greek text: List of Contents, Preface, an Introduction, the main text -–divided into nine chapters – an Appendix and the Bibliography (522 pages in all). This is followed by a detailed Catalogue of the 105 sculptures, an Index of illustrations, 392 illustrations (including 44 in colour) and five maps (all unpaginated).

In the ›Greek Introduction‹ (pp. 3–48) the emphasis is on the special characteristics of the island that led to it experiencing both an economic and a cultural high point in the Hellenistic period, i. e. its geographical location and its democratic status. This is followed by a brief survey of: a) earlier catalogues of Rhodian sculpture and some shorter studies; b) evidence from ancient written sources; and c) excavations on the island. The study's timeframe is set and covers the period from the founding of the city of Rhodes in 408/7 BCE to the Severan period, which saw the last traces of ancient sculpture on the island. The main research topic of the study is set out, i.e. pinpointing the identifying features of Rhodian marble sculpture and evaluating its role as a ›school of sculpture‹ in the emergence and development of Hellenistic sculpture. To date opinions on this range from the cautious stance of A. Linfert, who was reluctant to acknowledge the sculpture produced on Rhodes as products of a ›school‹ with special characteristics and a tradition, to the picture painted by G. Merker[3] of a dynamic workshop with a prominent role in the distribution of types and techniques in the Hellenistic Aegean (e. g. pp. 43–48). The debate as to whether it is possible to identify a Rhodian ›school‹ of sculpture, with an original and recognizable stylistic character recurs throughout the book.

1 Linfert 1976.

2 V. Machaira has published the earlier material, with a timeline of finds or acquisitions up to 1974, see Machaira 2011.

3 Merker 1973.

The first two chapters are also introductory in nature. In ›Chapter One‹ (Research History, pp. 12–48) B. assembles the historical and archaeological sources that document the activity of a large number of artists and artisans on the island from the Archaic period (above all in relation to bronzes): references in ancient literature and evidence from nineteenth-century travellers combined not just with finds from the island but also with statue bases signed by their makers. ›Chapter Two‹ (pp. 49–57) is a survey of the political history of Rhodes from its foundation as a federal state in 408/7 BCE to the late Roman period.

›Chapter Three‹ (Subjects and Types of Rhodian Sculpture, pp. 58–285) is the main part of the book. It examines questions concerning the iconography, typology and dating of the sculptures included in the catalogue and attempts to identify the figures depicted. It also introduces other smaller works from the island of the same type or similar. The material is arranged thematically in four sections: A. Gods (pp. 58–141), B. Mortals (pp. 142–236), C. Portrait Heads (pp. 237–258), D. The Roman Period (pp. 258–285).

The first section (Gods) examines statues of idealized types that are interpreted as gods. For the most part they are Hellenistic versions, reworkings of or independent creations that derive from certain widespread statuary types of Aphrodite, Dionysos, Asklepios, Apollo and Athena from the Classical period. The main focus is on three types of Aphrodite, the creation of which, according to a widely held view among scholars, is connected with Rhodes: the types of Aphrodite Pontia–Euploia, Aphrodite Pudica and Aphrodite Tiepolo. This view is backed up by the fact that a good deal of Hellenistic sculpture has been found on the island, as well as numerous copies in small-scale sculpture from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Similarly, the popularity of the Asklepios Este in the small-scale sculpture from the island and the Hellenistic version of it, known as the Epidaurus Asklepios type, may be due to that fact that, as B. suggests, the latter reproduces the type of the cult statue from the Rhodes Asklepieion.

The attempt to explore the connection of the types mentioned above with Rhodes is laudable and entails detailed examination of all the relevant sources. However, due to the fragmentary nature of the works concerned, it is difficult to make a thorough-going assessment of their relationship with each supposed archetype.

Several over life-sized heads deserve special mention: the masterly mid-2nd cent. head of (probably) Aphrodite (cat. no. 006), which, it should be noted, bears a striking similarity to the well-known head of Helios (cat. no. 017); heads cat. nos. 094 and 097 from Rhodes town (found in the vicinity of the Sanctuary of Cybele and at the foot of the Acropolis respectively), which may have belonged to cult statues; cat. no. 093, also from the Rhodes Acropolis, which seems highly likely to have come from an acrolith of some Ptolemaian queen, as the author has also pointed out; the diademed bust cat. no. 024 from a tomb monument. As regards sculpture from the Roman period, the head of an Aphrodite Fréjus (cat. no. 008) can be added to the copies known to date of the corresponding type.

A few more observations can be made: The torso cat. no. 009, which B. interprets as an Eleusina-type Asklepios, is more likely to come from a funerary statue representing an elderly man, as is suggested by the distinctly bulging stomach. Figure cat. no. 014 is interpreted as an adult, but is a youth; it should be considered in relation to the Gymnasium, where it was set up (perhaps an Eros?). In relation to the colossal head of Helios cat. no. 017, B. quite rightly rejects Merker's assertion that it was topped by a lion's or elephant's head helmet. She suggests that it is more likely that it was a full-length figure (p. 111, cf. 113). However, we should not rule out the possibility that the head comes from a relief tondo, like, for example, the more or less contemporary colossal head in the Antikensammlung, Berlin[4]. The holes drilled in the neck of the Rhodian head could be due to its removal from its support in secondary use. The hairstyle

4 Winter 1908, 234 no. 283 Beiblatt 32; von den Hoff 2015, 55–63; Scholl 2016, cat. no. 33 (von den Hoff).

of ›Attis‹ cat. no. 021, pointing to a Kassel-type Claudius, gives rise to the suspicion that it was, in fact, an idealized portrait[5].

The examination of the sculptures in the next section (Mortals), begins with a group of female statues and statuettes, which depict, more or less faithfully, statuary types of the late Classical period (or simply appropriate individual motifs from them). Some sculptures included in this analysis show important typological differences or are so fragmentarily preserved that it is impossible to connect them with specific types of statuary (e. g. cat. nos. 025. 099). As was the case with the sculptures discussed in the first section, here too the detailed examination of statues and statuettes from Rhodes has failed to come up with any new information about the lost archetypes.

Other types of female statues found widely distributed throughout the eastern Aegean are also published here (e. g. the Pudicitia type: cat. no. 031, Small Herculaneum Women statue type: cat. no. 035, Polla Valeria: cat. nos. 039. 040, Sopheia: cat. no. 032, and Baebia: cat. no. 033), for the most part high quality works. A small head of Arsinoe II (cat. no. 065) occupies a special place in the presentation of the new material.

Among the works published here a number of himatiophoroi adopt common statuary types (›Normal type‹: cat. no. 041–043, ›Kos type‹: cat. no. 044–046, ›Demosthenes type‹: cat. no. 047–050) and show the usual variety found at the time in respect of individual motifs. The ›heroic‹, semi-nude depiction used in idealized statuary types (›Hüftmanteltypus‹: cat. nos. 051. 053–054, ›Schulterbauschtypus‹: cat. no. 052) was probably a popular choice for the depiction of young men who died prematurely. Cat. nos. 051 (preserved with head intact) and 088 are both of very high quality.

A few remarks might be made in the third section (Portrait Heads): head cat. no. 064 from a herm, despite having been interpreted by most scholars as representing an athlete, is perhaps more likely to depict Herakles in the Lansdowne type, because it repeats basic motifs of the thick locks pushed up from the forehead of that type. It should be noted that heads that depict this type are often seen connected with herms[6]. Furthermore, cat. no. 072 may, in fact, come from Ephesus (cf. p. 287, note 3.ζ), as it shows considerable stylistic similarities with heads from that area[7].

The setting up of statues to Roman emperors in the cities of Rhodes, Lindos and Kamiros is attested in inscriptions. In the last section (The Roman Period), in addition to the already well-known head of Augustus in the Prima Porta type (cat. no. 081) B. recognizes Roman emperors in another three busts: B. adopts Vermeule's identification of head cat. no. 082 as the Emperor Tiberius. However, the central motif of its hairstyle finds closer similarities with that of the Claudius Kassel type (it should be noted here that many of the busts of this type are the result of reworkings). For head no. 083, published here, B. suggests the Emperor Trajan in the so-called ›Opferbildtypus‹ (Typus IV B). However, the head is more reminiscent of the busts of the last Ptolemies; it may depict one of them. The presence of a narrow band could be explained by the traditional way in which rulers were depicted on Hellenistic busts. In head no. 084 B. recognizes Antoninus Pius in his main type, but the deviations from the Roman

5 See the similar depiction of Antinous in the Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti II 19, inv. 1205, Meyer 1991, 86–87 no. I 65, pl. 75.

6 See Kazakidi 2015, 83. 109 n. 709. On the type see Kasteiner 2000.

7 See for example Kazakidi 2018, 293–306.

original seen in the hair and the shape of the head (already pointed out by Wegner) exclude its being counted among the portrait busts of that emperor[8].

A remark should be made as regards the overall organization of material: perhaps a more typological classification of the sculptures, regardless of their presumed content (e. g. ›idealized types‹ and ›portraits‹) in accordance with the usual arrangement in catalogues of sculpture[9] would have made the author's job easier and avoided some inconsistencies.

In the ›fourth chapter‹ an attempt is made to link the sculptures with the locations where they once stood based on their archaeological context (pp. 286–325). Thirty-eight of them come from the heart of the city, mostly the eastern foot of the acropolis, where the sanctuaries and some opulent residences were located. However, of the greatest interest is the group of sculptures from the extensive architectural remains attributed to a single residence, the so-called Papastamati Plot Villa, including the imperial busts (cat. nos. 081 and 082). The presence of the imperial busts, the size of the residence and its elaborate decoration encourage the author to ask whether it might have been one of the places where the prominent Romans to whom the island played host once stayed. There is as yet little evidence of sculptures coming from other sanctuaries.

The evidence for the funerary function of a large number of marble statues and the link made between some of them and large-scale, above-ground tomb monuments with accessible, ›walk-in‹ spaces (stoas/porticoes and atria) offer interesting insights into Rhodian society and the habits of the upper classes in the late Hellenistic period. This issue cannot be given sufficient prominence in the context of this particular chapter. But it is worth noting that these are life-size or over life-size statues, often of very high-quality craftsmanship and similar to types associated with honorific depictions.

Despite the scanty information available from the excavation data, not an unusual situation when dealing with ancient sites with continuous occupation up to the present day, B.'s meticulous study has delivered results. It covers topographical issues relating to the ancient city and gives us a useful overall survey of earlier and more recent rescue digs. Moreover, it redefines the find spots of earlier finds that were published with the wrong provenance (e. g. p. 287 n. 3).

In ›Chapter Five‹ (Stylistic analysis and chronological development of Rhodian sculpture) the author uses the traditional method, which consists in comparing typologically similar works of sculpture and translating their stylistic differences into a pattern of chronological evolution (pp. 326–335). Female heads with idealized models, clothed male and female torsos and male busts constitute representative groups of works that allow us, as B. acknowledges, to trace a linear development in style.

The few sculptures that can be dated to the late 4th c. BCE show a distinct typological and stylistic similarity with Attic works. Female torsos with a rigid delineation of the draperies and selective use of the drill date to the 3rd cent. BCE, an echo of the classical tradition (cat. nos. 037. 036. 035 from towards the end of the century); torsos with more elegant proportions, which have been given the various characteristics of garments of successive periods, with an emphasis on the transparency of the himation, date to the 2nd cent. BCE (cat. nos. 040. 028. 100). The statues in which a more intensely decorative tendency, based on widespread use of the drill and stylized motifs, is observed date to the late Hellenistic period, i.e. from the end of the 2nd cent. and into the 1st cent. BCE (cat. nos. 031. 099. 030. 027. 025). A few more torsos in a different style, characterized by more severe (cat. nos. 033. 096. 026) or more linear (cat.

8 Despite the appealing nature of B.'s hypothesis, we should keep to the guidelines set by the comparison of copies method, as instituted by German scholars. See for example the series editors' preface (K. Fittschen et al.) in: Hertel 2013. Moreover E. Chioti has included this head from Rhodos among the busts of private citizens in her recent doctoral thesis on the busts of the Antonine period in Greece, Chioti unpublished, 75. On the main type of Antoninus Pius see Knoll – Vorster 2013, 285–286 [in cat. no. 64] (Joachim Raeder). For a new, third prototype of Antoninus Pius see Fittschen 2017, 189–196.

9 Cf. for example, Machaira 2017; Machaira 2018.

no. 032) delineation of the drapery folds can be dated to the late 2nd cent. BCE, mainly on the basis of their overall structure and the relationship between body and draperies. Statues of himatiophoroi survive from perhaps as far back as the end of the 3rd cent. (cat. no. 009), but most of them are from the 2nd cent. BCE, following a more or less chronological order (cat. nos. 045. 047. 046. 012. 048. 042) based on a tendency to elongate the figures, increasingly elegant proportions and a taste for decoration involving greater use of the drill and the stylization of certain motifs on the draperies. As with the female statues, a few male torsos display a different style with more simplified motifs and rougher carving (cat. nos. 044. 011). The female (cat. nos. 039. 038) and male figures (cat. nos. 010. 051. 049. 050. 041) are characterized by reduced overall volume, stylization and stiffness in the draperies.

Correspondingly, one can see a development in the female heads from the more austere forms of the 4th and 3rd cent. BCE (cat. no. 093) to the 2nd-cent. heads that show movement and have rounder outlines to the face with soft forms (cat. nos. 095–098. 101–103) involving greater use of the drill (cat. no. 004), characteristics that are consistent with those of contemporary art of Pergamon, but which are applied less intensively in the Rhodian works. The heads that look back to classical models can be put in the late Hellenistic period, with the depiction of individualized features creeping into portrait busts (cat. nos. 061. 065. 062. 060. 005. 058 and the child portrait no. 089). The idealized youthful heads of the late 2nd and 1st cent. BCE go back to the Lysippan and Skopadic models of the 4th cent. (cat. nos. 064. 051. 063), whereas the portraits are distinguished by their individualized features, which have been harmoniously absorbed, in more or less obvious ways, into the classical form (cat. nos. 066. 077. 070. 069. 067. 071 and the child busts nos. 090. 091).

A group of archaizing works are also to be dated to the late Hellenistic period (cat. nos. 018. 019. 020). The transition to the early Imperial period is smooth and the sculptures of that period are distinguished by the classicizing style typical of the Greek workshops of the eastern Aegean (cat. nos. 081–085). A few sculptures are dated to later periods, up to the 3rd cent. CE (cat. nos. 013. 086–087).

The limitations of stylistic analysis as a dating criterion in the Hellenistic period are well known[10]. Nevertheless B. manages to describe in great detail the stylistic differences between works of the same kind and to document their relative dating according to the dateline for Hellenistic sculpture, drawn up for the most part by A. Linfert and later developed by Chr. Kunze and other scholars[11]. The dating of a few works is also based on their archaeological context.

In ›Chapter Six‹ materials and methods of making are re-examined (pp. 336–341). B. maps the quarries from which most of the stone on the island comes (the grey-blue Lartian stone, soft tufa and other red or grey-green limestone) thanks to the precious details she has carefully amassed; she describes their main properties and identifies a considerable number of sculptures made from similar materials. Careful inspection of the working of the surfaces of the sculptures included in the catalogue has led B. to make some in part original observations: i) techniques used to fill in small, and sometimes larger, parts with plaster (e. g. cat. no. 067. 015 etc.) or with separately carved pieces of marble (pp. 350–354, e. g. cat. nos. 033. 036. 063. 090. 083 etc.), ii) combining different types of stone (e.g. Lartian stone and white marble) in the same sculpture (cat. no. 022), iii) the use of tenons set low into busts of the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, a phenomenon that has also been seen in other contemporary centres of production and attributed to a possible shortage of materials (p. 344), iv) the heads cat.

10 See for example the author's preface in Marcadé 1969. And see Celani 2005.

11 Kunze 2002.

nos. 067. 073 probably coming from roundels (imagines clipeatae) and v) the painting of the sculptures (see esp. cat. no. 086)[12].

In ›Chapter Seven‹ (Inscriptions, Signatures, Workshops, pp. 358–365) B. attempts to compile a list of the craftsmen, both Rhodian and non-Rhodian, who worked in marble and whose careers are attested above all by their signatures. She notes that on Rhodes – by contrast with Delos, for example – they mainly sign bronze statues, and only more rarely the marble ones (p. 362). The fact that they could be granted the right of residence (epidamia) must have played an important part in craftsmen from elsewhere deciding to settle in Rhodes, as it gave them certain political rights.

›Chapter Eight‹ (Relations between artists workshops in Rhodes and the eastern Mediterranean, pp. 366–420), has a firm foundation in the work of A. Linfert and the improvements that subsequent scholars have brought to it. The author has carried out a most meticulous stylistic analysis of typologically similar works (or motifs) from Rhodes, Athens and what were at the time the most important cities of the eastern Aegean (Kos, Delos, Pergamon, Priene, Tinos, Samos, etc.). B. confirms that Rhodes, which attracted travelling craftsmen, played an important part in the adoption, transformation and distribution of what were for the most part Attic statuary types, which first emerged on the island with advent of the Athenian craftsmen in the latter part of the 4th cent. BCE (e. g. the Asklepios Este/ Epidaurus or Giustini etc. types) It was also on Rhodes that some highly original and eclectic works were created, which are also found widely distributed throughout the eastern Aegean (e. g. Aphrodite Pontia–Euploia etc.). The mobility of craftsmen and the transportability of types and techniques helped to give the sculpture coming out of the workshops of eastern Greece from the 3rd cent. BCE onwards and above all in the 2nd cent. (apart from on Samos and Delos) a common character. But by the 1st cent. clear stylistic differences were emerging that show the workshops going their separate ways (p. 394).

In ›Chapter Nine‹ (Assembled Data) the sculptures in the catalogue are classified in tables by size (table 1), iconography and provenance (table 2) and date (table 3) (pp. 421–438). In the conclusions that follow (pp. 439–454) the basic characteristics of Rhodian large-scale, stone sculpture are summarized: i.e. that these works in stone show quite a wide variety in their use of materials (Lartian stone and other local coloured stones were perhaps used on a wider scale than has previously been acknowledged, as B. shows) and of styles, because overall they were characterized by high quality carving and a classical style, both of which require skilled craftsmanship and a corresponding artistic tradition. 2nd-cent. sculptures, for example, are notable for their use of expressive media and techniques that intensify the ›dramatic impression‹ they give, a tendency that probably developed not only under the influence of bronze sculpture on the island, but also of other similar tendencies that were dominating other artistic centres, above all Pergamon. The sculptures found on Rhodes do not, however, reach the same level of baroque style as the contemporary Pergamene sculpture, which may be due to the function they served and the demands of their patrons: they were for the most part works that were set up individually as private dedications or funerary monuments, and we know of no large group sculptures and programmes of architectural sculpture like those of the royal monuments at Pergamon or other cities that belonged to the Hellenistic kingdoms or to their sphere of influence. As is well known, the high productivity of Rhodian sculpture workshops that began with the arrival of Athenian craftsmen on the island, especially those working in bronze, is attested by indirect references in the ancient literature and by the artists' signatures both on the island and elsewhere. Rhodian influence is also suggested by the typological and

12 Laboratory tests would have been useful for some works, e. g. the hard, reddish patina on the hair of the Helios might indicate traces of a substrate applied prior to gilding. Moreover, I think that the torso cat. no. 013 has been reworked and probably also head cat. no. 018, as is suggested by the rough excision of locks of hair when a deep channel was cut in the nape of the neck and by the disproportionately large right ear; Cat. no. 022 may come from a relief; cat. no.036 is more likely to have been set into an architectural support (e.g. a funerary naiskos or small shrine), rather than having lost the other part of its originally bipartite structure (p. 352).

stylistic references in works of the minor arts from other areas (especially cities of Rhodian Peraea) to works of large-scale sculpture from the island (p. 450). Moreover, the export trade in Rhodian stone sculpture, especially statues with decorative motifs, is attested at least in Alexandria and Rome, while a Rhodian provenance has also been proposed for sculpture in other places on the Italian peninsular and in the eastern Aegean (pp. 452–453). As B. concludes, the Rhodian figures are distinguished by their adoption of Ionian softness. The combining of features from Attic and Asia Minor sculpture, apparent in both clothed figures and in busts and archaizing works, is the main characteristic of Rhodian art« (cf. p. 334).

Nevertheless, we rarely find among the many works produced in stone any sculptures showing typological or stylistic originality, and for the most part they do not show a standard stylistic approach with distinct characteristics and a common line of development. Despite the valuable information provided by the new material in this book, the general picture given of the nature of Rhodian stone sculpture and its contribution to Hellenistic art does not differ significantly from the one we already have[13].

As a sort of ›Appendix‹ (pp. 455–477) B. recapitulates the debate about the Nike of Samothrace, the Punishment of Dirce, the Laocoon, the Sperlonga sculptures and the Muses by Philiskos of Rhodes, works which have been linked in the literature with Rhodian sculpture. She notes that the sculptures that are presented in her study »are in no way typologically linked with the above mentioned works« (p. 455). Nevertheless, a certain stylistic relationship can be observed between them and reinforces the view that these works and their models can be traced back to Rhodian sculpture.

The ›Bibliography‹ is generally substantial and relatively up-to-date (pp. 478–522)[14].

Turning to the ›Catalogue of Sculptures‹, it is detailed and includes the necessary identificatory information on the works, careful observations on their stylistic characteristics and comprehensive descriptions. The documentation is systematic and comprehensive, the result of archival indexing and careful, in situ observation; inserting a reference to the relevant pages in the text where the corresponding sculpture is discussed at the end of each entry would be a help to the reader. As regards methodology and the compiling of the catalogue, the criteria according to which those sculptures that are discussed in detail were chosen from among the published works are not made completely clear. The monograph does not include trophies (including supports for statues?), armour-clad figures, or sculptures in an archaizing style (but see pp. 113–119) etc. (see p. 9).

The current Index makes it easier to search the catalogue, but there are no indexes of museums, terms or names. Similarly, in an overview of Rhodian sculpture, a list of all the sculptures that come from or are connected with Rhodes would have been very useful.

The book ends with the assembled ›illustrations‹. Many of them are of excellent quality, but unfortunately a number do not meet the specifications for publication. Less than half of the works have been photographed from all four sides. Pictures of details (especially where there are joins) would undoubtedly be useful.

This monograph provides an iconographic, typological and stylistic study of a large number of marble sculptures from Rhodes, which, following in the footsteps of other similar studies, concentrates on questions relating to the provenance, the development over time and the distribution of the types and various styles that can be seen to exist side by side. Furthermore, B.'s research is based on the assumption that in the Hellenistic period local schools of sculpture with distinguished stylistic futures emerged and developed in the major cultural centers of the Greek world. However, the difficulty to distinguish the different stylistic

13 See Machaira 2017; Machaira 2018.

14 A few useful studies could be added: on judging works by size (e.g. p. 5 n. 36) see above all Fittschen 1994; on the cult of Sol/Helios and more particularly on the colossal head (cat. no. 017), and another, contemporary and equally colossal head of the same god from Koskinos on Rhodes, now in the Berlin Museums, inv. Sk1886 (not included in the catalogue), see Matern 2002, with all the bibliography; on the Neo-Attic workshops, see Fittschen 2008.

preferences is well known[15]. According to a more recent tendency in the study of sculpture, especially of that of the Hellenistic period, understanding individual stylistic choices requires to a large extent understanding the function of the sculpture, in other words the identity of the person or body who commissioned it and the person/body that paid for it, its purpose and the place where it was erected. The interrelationship between these factors is evident, for example, in certain categories of sculpture, such as portraits or archaizing sculpture. Furthermore, this sort of research, which requires studying the sculpture and the historical sources at the same time[16], allows other questions that are an essential part of understanding the sculptures, such as the role of sculpture as a means of communication or a commercial product, to be addressed.

The book has been published online by the e-publisher ›Access Archaeology Publication‹, while a print version can be ordered from Archaeopress, Oxford. As is well known, this kind of online publication for academic work is aimed at giving free, direct and complete access to scholarly research while at the same time ensuring the maximum possible savings in financial and other costs, in line with the ecological spirit of our age[17]. In these circumstances the responsibility for editing and proofreading lies with the author. Editing, which is lacking in B.'s book, would have given greater clarity to the text and elegance to its form, especially in the case of the printed version, which is now available in university libraries: the book has retained the cumbersome form of a Ph.D. thesis and the ISBN number on the flyleaf is perhaps the only thing that connects it with the more refined format of the book. In the short introductory note, there is an attempt to justify the choice of what was evidently a rushed publication: »The Thesis contains much valuable analysis and catalogue material and this publication has been produced in order that the work should not be overlooked merely for reasons of language«. The author's anxiety is justified: the Greek-speaking community of archaeologists is constantly shrinking and texts in Greek are often overlooked. But does acknowledging this justify undervaluing Greek text? While B.'s English Introduction is impeccable as regards the content and form, there are a lot of spelling mistakes, typing errors, etc., some serious, in the Greek text[18].

To sum up, despite its editorial weaknesses, this monograph provides a significant contribution to the study of the typology, iconography and dating of Rhodian sculpture and of Hellenistic sculpture in general. In her work B. has given a detailed presentation of new material, which she fully documents by means of ground-breaking archival and in situ research, while also closely re-examining a number of already published sculptures that add to the catalogues of Rhodian sculpture by G. Merker, G. Gualandi and V. Machaira[19]. It is particularly important that part of the – mainly more recent – material comes from identified excavation sites. Moreover, she provides original information on the provenance of the different types of stone available on the island and how it was used in sculpture. It is also useful that she has assembled the signed works from the island and elsewhere and that there are references in the thematized chapters to many more works not only in the Museum of Rhodes but also in museums abroad. In addition, she has systematically combined old questions and new evidence from research about the special features of Rhodian sculpture, the great marble creations connected with Rhodes and assessing the role of the island's workshops in the production and distribution of Hellenistic types of sculpture. It is in any case a considerable help to have at our disposal a

15 Cf. Machaira 2017; 2018.

16 E.g. Biard 2017.

17 The thesis, it is worth noting, is also freely available on the website of the Greek National Documentation Centre: http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/33185#page/1/mode/2up.

18 E. g. p. 56: αυτοκράτορα [sic] Κλαύδιο, i. e. General Claudius etc.

19 Merker 1973; Gualandi 1976; Machaira 2011.

series of scholarly catalogues on Rhodian sculpture[20], together forming a firm foundation for further research into Hellenistic sculpture on the island and into sculpture as a source for the social and economic history of the island as part of the Hellenistic world.

Bibliography

Biard 2017	G. Biard, La représentation honorifique dans les cités grecques aux époques classique et hellénistique, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 376 (Athens 2017)
Celani 2005	A. Celani, Scultura dell' ellenismo: problemi di metodo, ASAtene 83, 2005, 299–338
Chioti unpublished	E. Chioti, Αυτοκρατορικά και ιδιωτικά πορτρέτα της εποχής των Αντωνίνων στην Ελλάδα (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Thessaloniki)
Fantaoutsaki 2011	C. Fantaoutsaki, Preliminary Report in the Excavation of the Sanctuary of Isis in Ancient Rhodes. Identification, Topography and Finds, in: L. Bricault – R. Veymiers (eds.), Bibliotheca Isiaca 2 (Bordeaux 2011) 47–63
Fittschen 1994	K. Fittschen, Rez. zu: D. Kreikenbom, Griechische und römische Kolossalporträts bis zum späten ersten Jahrhundert nach Christus, JdI Ergh. 27 (Berlin 1992), Gnomon 66, 1994, 612–615
Fittschen 2008	K. Fittschen, Über den Beitrag der Bildhauer in Athen zur Kunstproduktion im römischen Reich, in: St. Vlizos (ed.), Athens during the Roman Period: Recent Discoveries, New Evidence, Proceedings of the International Archaeological Symposium, Athens, October 19– 21, 2006 (Athens 2008) 325–336
Fittschen 2017	K. Fittschen, Ein dritter Bildnistypus des Antoninus Pius? in: E. Voutiras – E. Papagianni – N. Kazakidi (eds.), Bonae Gratiae. Essays on Roman Sculpture in Honour of Professor Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou (Thessaloniki 2017)
Gualandi 1976	G. Gualandi, Sculture di Rodi, ASAtene 54, 1976, 7–259
Hertel 2013	D. Hertel, Das römische Herrscherbild 1, 3. Die Bildnisse des Tiberius (Wiesbaden 2013)
von den Hoff 2015	R. von den Hoff, Die Clipei aus dem Mittelsaal H des Gymnasions von Pergamon, in: R. Grüßinger – U. Kästner – A. Scholl (eds.), Pergamon als Zentrum der hellenistischen Kunst − Bedeutung, Eigenheiten und Ausstrahlung. Kolloquium Berlin 26.–28.9.2012 (Petersberg 2015) 55–63
Kasteiner 2000	S. Kasteiner, Herakles. Die Darstellungen in der Großplastik der Antike (Köln 2000)
Kazakidi 2015	N. Kazakidi, Έργα γλυπτικής στο ελληνιστικό γυμνάσιο. ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ ΕΝ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΩ. Ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα και νησιά του Αιγαίου (Thessaloniki 2015)

20 See also the publication of the finds from the sanctuary of Isis, Fantaoutsaki 2011, 47–63, while publication of more sculptures is being undertaken by Machaira 2017; Machaira 2018; Machaira 2019.

Kazakidi 2018	N. Kazakidi, »Ένα υποτιθέμενο πορτρέτο του Κλαυδίου στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Αθηνών και τα ελληνιστικά του παράλληλα από τη Σμύρνη«, in: P. Karanastasi – Th. Stephanidou-Tiveriou – D. Damaskos (eds), Γλυπτική και Κοινωνία στη Ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα, Καλλιτεχνικά προϊόντα – κοινωνικές προβολές, Β΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιολογίας, Ρέθυμνο 26–28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2014 (Thessaloniki 2018) 293–306
Knoll – Vorster 2013	K. Knoll – C. Vorster (eds.), Katalog der antiken Bildwerke 3. Die Porträts. Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (München 2013)
Kunze 2002	C. Kunze, Zum Greifen nah: Stilphänomene in der hellenistischen Skulptur und ihre inhaltliche Interpretation (München 2002)
Linfert 1976	A. Linfert, Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit. Studien an weiblichen Gewandstatuen (Wiesbaden 1976)
Machaira 2011	V. Machaira, Ελληνιστικά γλυπτά της Ρόδου. Κατάλογος 1 (Athens 2011)
Machaira 2017	V. Machaira, Το πρόγραμμα μελέτης και δημοσίευσης των ελληνιστικών γλυπτών της Ρόδου: Παρατηρήσεις και επιμέρους συμπεράσματα, in: P. Triantafullides (ed.), Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στα νησιά του Αιγαίου, 2017, Proceedings of a Conference held in Rhodes 3 (Mytilene 2017) 31–41
Machaira 2018	V. Machaira, Ελληνιστική πλαστική στο Αιγαίο: Ρόδος και Δήλος, πόλοι δημιουργίας και διάδοσης, Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά 28, 2018, 128–149
Machaira 2019	V. Machaira, Sculpture funéraire de Rhodes. Quelle individualisation? in: D. Boschung – F. Queyrel (eds), Das Porträt als Massenphänomen / Le portrait comme phénomène de masse, Morphomata 40 (Paderborn 2019) 169-185
Marcadé 1969	J. Marcadé, Au musée de Délos: étude sur la sculpture hellénistique en ronde bosse découverte dans l'île (Paris 1969)
Matern 2002	P. Matern, Helios und Sol. Kulte und Ikonographie des griechischen und römischen Sonnengottes (Istanbul 2002)
Merker 1973	G. Merker, The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 40 (Göteborg 1973)
Meyer 1991	H. Meyer, Antinoos, die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoninischen Zeit (München 1991)
Scholl 2016	A. Scholl (ed.), Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der Skulpturen in der Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 1 (Petersberg 2016)
Winter 1908	F. Winter, Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs, AvP 7 (Berlin 1908)

Qumran, Unchecked Parallelomania, and Pseudonymity in Academic Publication

Review Article of

Kenneth Silver, Alexandria and Qumran. Back to the Beginning
Archaeopress, Oxford 2017
xxvi+586 pages; 42 figs., 11 maps and plans (24 pls. in colour)
ISBN: 978-1-78491-728-9 (printed); ISBN: 978-1-78491-729-6 (e-pub.)

Dennis Mizzi

This monograph has a promising premise – which is to situate Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls within the socio-political and cultural milieu of the Graeco-Roman world – but a deeply flawed execution. Its many problems can be summed up into four main points: 1) methodological and interpretative shortcomings; 2) unchecked parallelomania; 3) factual errors; and 4) the use of pseudonymity in academic publication. In the following pages, I will explore each of these issues in some detail. But first, I start with a brief overview of Kenneth Silver's main arguments and hypothesis[1].

1. Overview

Silver traces the birth of the Qumran-Essenes, as he calls them, among the Jerusalem priestly elite of the early 2nd cent. BCE. These were priests within the Oniad clan who supported the Hellenizing policies of Jason the high priest. In the gymnasium that Jason set up in Jerusalem, these priests were inculcated in Greek philosophy. However, the proposed reforms were met with significant opposition, and Jason was eventually deposed by Menelaus. This forced the Oniad clan to seek refuge first in Transjordan and then in Egypt. Here, the migrant priests built a temple in Leontopolis to rival the one in Jerusalem. They also picked up Pythagorean philosophy and formed a movement modelled on the structure and organization of Hellenistic associations. The group's ideology, social structure, ritual praxis, and religious ethos were heavily indebted to Pythagoreanism (as well as Orphism and other oriental mystery religions), to such an extent that the nascent Essenes, while ethnically Jewish, »in their religion … had converted to Greek and Pythagorean philosophy« (p. 263). The founder and leader of the Essene movement, »[t]he author and father of the ascetic philosophic Pythagorean-based brotherhood« (p. 71), was none other than Jason, the deposed high priest.

Subsequently, the Essenes returned to Judaea and set themselves up at Qumran. According to Silver, the settlement was established sometime in the first half of the 2nd cent. BCE, and its architectural layout was influenced by Pythagorean numerical symbolism and followed specific astronomical orientations. The site functioned as the locus of Qumran-Essene rituals, and it was also a sort of temple for their »solar and astral worshipping religion based on

1 At this stage, it should be noted that Kenneth Silver is apparently a pseudonym of Kenneth Lönnqvist. This notwithstanding, in the following pages I refer to the author as Silver. The ethical implications behind pseudonymity in academic publication are discussed in Section 5.

Pythagoreanism« (p. 382). Silver identifies the Qumran-Essenes with the group(s) depicted in the Dead Sea Scrolls, found in caves adjacent to the settlement, and he draws myriad parallels between Pythagoreanism and the practices, ideology, and worldview described in the scrolls. In his view, the latter have been completely misread owing to the persistent scholarly tradition of situating the texts in a Jewish, rather than a Pythagorean, milieu.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The first discusses the Alexandrian setting, which Silver sees as the socio-cultural milieu from which the Essenes emerged. Indeed, Alexandria, as the centre of culture and learning par excellence, is seen as the missing link and conduit between Pythagoreanism and the Essenes. Furthermore, Silver contends that the city must have been »the main source for the old documents in general and the peculiar genre of literature found in the Qumran library,« seeing that it was »the site of the religions and religious literature, and worldwide philosophical ideologies – from Judaism to Zoroastrianism, including all the Oriental religions« (p. 57). Alexandria was also home to Philo's Therapeutae, who shared the same Pythagorean roots as the Essenes, according to Silver.

The second chapter provides a detailed overview of Pythagorean philosophy and communal organization. The third is a short chapter focusing on the organization of the Qumran-Essenes in the context of Graeco-Roman associations. This is followed by the longest chapter in the book, which is almost two hundred pages long (pp. 114–302). Here, Silver discusses a host of parallels and similarities between the Dead Sea Scrolls and Pythagoreanism on issues such as communal structure and organization; the nature of oaths; calendrical observance; attitudes to clothing, food, and drink; aspects of ritual and daily life; the centrality of reading, meditation, and study; views on women; and various concepts such as dualism, truth and justice, purity and impurity, angels and demons, and many more.

The fifth chapter explores the daily life and religious beliefs of the Qumran-Essenes, focusing in particular on initiation rituals; the social hierarchy of the group; their dualistic and eschatological worldviews; and their ›religion‹, which is characterized as a »solar-astral mystery religion« (p. 316). Silver portrays the Qumran-Essene movement as both a philosophical system and a mystery religion on account of the similarities it shares with other such systems and religions in the Graeco-Roman world. The following chapter, which is co-authored by Minna Lönnqvist, Kenneth Lönnqvist, and Reino Anttila and which includes a short appendix by the latter author, comprises a study of the Qumran sundial, which is seen as a critical element of the Qumran-Essene solar religion. The seventh chapter, which once again includes sections co-authored by Minna and Kenneth Lönnqvist, presents a detailed outline – from Silver's perspective – of the history of the Qumran-Essenes, the foundation of the Qumran settlement, and aspects of the site's archaeology. A synthesis of the main arguments makes up the final chapter.

2. Methodology and Interpretation

Silver's hypothesis is hampered by a number of methodological shortcomings, which ultimately cast serious doubts on his various arguments and interpretations. Perhaps the most glaring of these, if not the most outlandish, is his contention that the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls are essentially ›un-Jewish‹. For example, he states that the interpretation and rewriting of biblical material we see in the scrolls does not represent »the Jewish way of authoring texts. It was, however, very much the Pythagorean way« (p. 314). This is truly baffling in view of the rich interpretative traditions which existed in early Judaism, some of which are also attested in the Qumran collection[2]. In a similar vein, Silver seeks to disassociate the purity laws in the scrolls from their Jewish context. According to him, the purity texts found at Qumran were written in Egypt and »were directly modelled on the rules and regulations of the Hellenistic religious associations and guilds that existed in Ptolemaic Egypt. As such, they have hardly anything to do with the Jewish Halakhah« (p. 183). Here, Silver uses the term ›halakhah‹ in a

2 The literature is vast. For a general overview, see the recent collection of papers in Henze 2012.

very specific manner to refer to rabbinic law, but in the process, he ignores the biblical basis which underlies purity legislation in the scrolls[3]. Arguments of this sort – which abound in this monograph – fly in the face of evidence. In fact, one wonders: if the Qumran-Essenes were as Hellenized as Silver purports them to be, how come they composed their texts in Hebrew or Aramaic and not in Greek? The manner in which the scrolls are decontextualized from their socio-cultural milieu – which certainly does include Persian, Greek, and other cultural influences, but which remains, nonetheless, Jewish in its essential character (see further Section 3) – means that Silver is playing an entirely different game than the rest of the scholarly community.

Archaeological evidence is divested of its context in a similar manner. For example, in connection with the stepped water installations at Qumran, which are commonly interpreted as Jewish ritual baths[4], Silver states that »the non-Jewish architectural design with cosmic orientations of the ritual baths at Qumran excludes directly their religious association with Jewish miqveh-baths« (p. 185; and cf. p. 256). However, a rich dataset comprising no less than eight-hundred-fifty comparable stepped water installations concentrated in areas in ancient Palestine known to have been inhabited by Jews clearly suggests otherwise[5]. In the end, Silver does not really explain what is so particular about the Qumran stepped pools, nor does he prove that their orientation is unique among the hundreds of known exemplars. Thus, he fails to meet both of the crucial criteria necessary to make a strong archaeological argument. As Michael Smith notes,

> [archaeological] arguments need a *warrant* or principle that justifies the links among claims, reasons, and evidence.…
> The two primary types of archaeological warrant are theory and comparative data. Arguments should be justified on the basis of one or more theoretical principles, and they should not violate accepted theoretical precepts. Arguments should also be justified by citing comparative data that establish at least the plausibility of the reason and claim[6].

Silver ignores the cumulative knowledge which has been generated on Jewish ritual baths in the past couple of decades and provides no comparative data to justify his argument. We see a pattern emerging here – the problems underlying Silver's thesis are more than just informal fallacies or reasoning errors; rather, they stem from inbuilt methodological flaws.

The chronology of Qumran, which is critical for Silver's entire argument to work, is another case in point. The chronology and development of the site during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods remain much debated[7]. However, scholars almost unanimously agree that, centuries after the site had been abandoned at the end of the Iron Age II (6th cent. BCE), Qumran was first reoccupied sometime in the first half of the 1st cent. BCE. Silver, in contrast, places the foundation of the Hellenistic settlement a full century earlier – that is, in the first half of the 2nd cent. BCE, »or even somewhat earlier« (passim, but esp. pp. 456–471; quote on p. 471). For the most part, Silver relies on Minna and Kenneth Lönnqvist's chronology (i.e., his earlier co-authored work [see Section 5])[8], and his main pieces of evidence

3 Again, the literature is vast. For some general overviews on the subject, which also highlight the biblical basis for much of the halakhic material in the scrolls, see Harrington 2004; Werrett 2007.

4 See, for example, Magness 2003, 134–162; Reich 2013, 164–175; Reich 2015, 414–424.

5 Adler 2014, 67–76. And see the corpus published in Reich 2013; Adler 2011, 319–343.

6 Smith 2015, 19–20.

7 Mizzi 2015, 1–42.

8 Lönnqvist – Lönnqvist 2011, 471–487; Lönnqvist – Lönnqvist 2002, 147.

are the so-called Qumran scroll jars (a class of cylindrical, holemouth storage vessels)[9] and some oil lamps (specifically, types 041.2, 042, 043, and 044 of Młynarczyk's typology)[10]. Silver claims that the scroll jars should be dated to the early 2nd cent. BCE on account of similar jars discovered at Deir el-Medina, Egypt. He is referring to two sealed cylindrical jars – discovered in a house – which contained the archive of one Totoes, a priest of Hathor[11]. Nonetheless, the Deir el-Medina jars, while similar, are certainly not identical to the Qumran exemplars, and one need not postulate a typological link between the two types. More importantly, however, there are absolutely no grounds to date the Deir el-Medina jars to the early 2nd cent. BCE. Details on the specific archaeological context in which the two jars were found is lacking, but the papyri inside them date to between 194 and 100 BCE[12]. The latter provides the terminus post quem for the sealing (and, possibly, the deposition) of the jars. It does not, however, serve as the terminus ante quem for their production (pace Silver) since the papyri could have been stored in the jars several years after the latest dated document. What matters, in this case, is the date of the archaeological context of the jars rather than the dating formulae in the papyri. Even if we were to accept 100 BCE as a terminus ante quem for the jars' production, we have no way to determine how much earlier the jars were manufactured, given the absence of other parallels from well-dated contexts. Silver argues that »[t]his jar type had been developed for storage of scrolls in private archives long before the youngest documents were deposited at the end of the 2nd century BC, represented by the closing date of the private archive« (p. 466), but he does not substantiate this claim. We do not know whether the papyri were gradually deposited inside the jars throughout the course of the 2nd cent. or whether they were put there at one go close to 100 BCE. Moreover, while there is considerable literary and archaeological evidence from the ancient Near East which attests to the use of jars for archival purposes[13], this cannot be brought to bear on the dating of the Deir el-Medina jars. In those cases where papyri are reported to have been found in jars, we have little to no information regarding the jars' typology. More importantly, the wide diachronic span of the practice of archival storage in jars – which ranges from as far back as the first half of the 1st millennium BCE down to the 2nd cent. CE and possibly later – renders Silver's point somewhat moot.

The same problem characterizes Silver's use of oil lamps for dating purposes. The lamps he refers to are the so-called delphiniform lamps, which occur with some frequency in 2nd and 1st cent. BCE contexts in Palestine[14]. Accordingly, the lamps cannot be used to make an argument for a 2nd-cent. occupation at Qumran, either. In fact, to base an entire chronology on two classes of pottery without considering the complete assemblage is methodologically problematic. It is typical for a ceramic assemblage from a specific period to comprise »a small quantity of vessels from earlier production traditions of types towards the end of their existence in the repertoire; a majority of the vessels of consolidated types; and a smaller number of vessels in forms that have only recently appeared and will become the dominant ones in the coming period«[15]. This is exactly the picture we get from the Qumran corpus. The

9 For examples of cylindrical jars, see de Vaux 1953, fig. 2, 4; de Vaux 1954, fig. 5, 3–4. 7. 9; de Vaux 1955, figs. 2, 10–12; 3, 9–11; de Vaux 1962, figs. 2, 1–6; 3, 7–9; de Vaux 1977, figs. 5, 3; 6, 12. A related class of storage vessels are ovoid jars, for which see de Vaux 1953, fig. 2, 7; de Vaux 1954, figs. 1, 3. 5; 2, 8; de Vaux 1956, fig. 2, 10; de Vaux 1962, figs. 3, 10; 6, 5; de Vaux 1977, fig. 5, 1–2. Further examples of both types have been published recently in Humbert et al. 2016, passim; Eisenstadt 2018, 184–186 (see references to the various plates there).

10 Młynarczyk 2016, 447–521; Młynarczyk 2013, 99–133.

11 For the jars, see Vandorpe 2011, fig. 10.3.

12 Lanciers 2014, 105. For further details about the archive, see https://www.trismegistos.org/archive/248.

13 See the survey in Milik 1950, 504–508; Lönnqvist – Lönnqvist 2011, 476–482.

14 See Bar-Nathan 2002, 105–110 (and references there); Młynarczyk 2016, 506–510 (and references there).

15 Geva 2003, 147–148.

sealed loci and dumps containing the earliest material from the late Hellenistic period have yielded a majority of 1st-cent. pottery and a very small number of vessels reflecting earlier or later traditions. Importantly, the few possible 2nd-cent. vessels, such as the aforementioned oil lamps, belong to types which remained in circulation in the 1st cent. BCE. These seemingly late-2nd-cent. vessels, then, are actually 1st-cent. specimens on their way out of the ceramic tradition. Furthermore, taken as a whole, the pottery excavated from the earliest contexts at Qumran looks nothing like the ›classic‹ 2nd-cent. assemblages in Palestine[16]. It is very telling that Hillel Geva remarks that the Qumran corpus is »clearly different from and later than those of Areas W and X-2« in Jerusalem[17], which is highly significant considering that the latter assemblages are among the best representatives of the Hellenistic ceramic repertoire for the region of Judaea in the late 2nd cent. BCE. The numismatic evidence reveals the same picture. The handful of 2nd-cent. coins were found in contexts containing coins from the 1st cent. BCE, suggesting prolonged circulation[18]. Silver's chronology, then, is fundamentally flawed, and this puts a serious dent in his overall thesis.

Equally problematic is Silver's notion that the orientation of the Qumran settlement as well as the tombs in the adjacent cemetery follow specific astronomical measurements. For Silver, this is a critical facet of the site and it is directly related to the settlement's function as a »temple« for the practice of the solar-astral religion of the Qumran-Essenes. Furthermore, Silver sees the earliest architectural phase of Qumran as a peristyle building – following Jean-Baptiste Humbert's reconstruction[19] – and argues that the layout of the site's plan and the dimensions of the various rooms and spaces were all based on Pythagorean mathematical principles (pp. 428–455). Both arguments favour unfounded speculation at the expense of tangible archaeological evidence. The late Hellenistic building at Qumran was built over the blueprint of the Iron Age II settlement[20], and thus the orientation of the walls does not reflect the concerns of the late Hellenistic inhabitants. This is not an appeal to coincidence – it truly is a matter of coincidence. Furthermore, for such an argument to hold water, Silver would have to show that Qumran is unique in the way its architecture is oriented. As for the layout of the settlement, Humbert's reconstruction is purely conjectural, and there is no archaeological evidence to support it[21]. In contrast, Roland de Vaux, the original excavator of the site, found incontrovertible evidence of a much simpler settlement with a very different architectural layout than the one proposed by Humbert[22].

The use of primary sources is largely uncritical as well. While Silver acknowledges that our information on Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism dates to 3rd cent. CE or later, he does not undertake a critical analysis of the respective texts and neither does he ever question their accuracy or reliability. How do we know what is original and what are later accretions in the traditions about the Pythagoreans? Therefore, hypothetically speaking, what kind of

16 See, for example, the corpora published in Berlin 1997, 2–51 (esp. 44–47); Berlin 2015, 629–671, 744–745.

17 Geva 2003, 149.

18 Magness 2003, 50.

19 Humbert 2003a, 419–440; Humbert 2003b, 467–482.

20 See de Vaux 1973, 1–3 pl. III. Pace Magen – Peleg 2018, 104, who conclude, without evidentiary support, that »[i]n light of the renewed excavations at Qumran, we *assume* that the Iron Age settlement was composed of clay huts and wooden sheds that rested, in part, on fieldstone building foundations« (emphasis mine).

21 Mizzi 2015, passim.

22 De Vaux 1973, 3–5 pl. IV. This is his Period Ia. The dating of this phase of occupation to the second half of the 2nd cent. BCE is incorrect, however, as Magness 2003, 63–66, has demonstrated. This does not mean that Period Ia, as an architectural phase, did not exist, only that it should be placed somewhere in the first half of the 1st cent. BCE. See further Mizzi 2015.

Pythagorean writings would Silver's Qumran-Essenes have been exposed to[23]? Is it possible that some of these late traditions were influenced by descriptions of the Essenes, especially given Josephus's explicit identification of the group with the Pythagoreans? The same holds true for our knowledge on the Essenes. There is no critical reading of Philo, Josephus, or Pliny, or of any of the later sources that mention this Jewish group, and so Silver takes the descriptions of the Essenes largely at face value. (In this context, a glaring omission in the bibliography is Joan Taylor's monograph on the Essenes, which is the most up-to-date and authoritative study on the subject[24].) What is fact and fiction in these accounts? Could the supposed parallels between the Qumran-Essenes and the Pythagoreans be nothing more than literary fictions created by the ancient authors for whatever apologetic reasons they may have had? Silver never ponders over these questions. But see, for example, Yonder Gillihan's comprehensive study on the groups depicted in the scrolls and Graeco-Roman civic associations, in which he highlights the heightened interest in Pythagoreanism among the Romans during the 1st cent. CE, pointing out that

> Josephus' presentation of the Essenes as full-fledged Pythagoreans accomplished at least one apologetic goal: it affirmed that Jews shared the same ideals as Romans. But it may have been intended to accomplish another. If Josephus knew of Roman Pythagoreanism as a disorganized, idealized, eclectic and sporadic practice, he may have presented Jewish Pythagoreanism in Essene form as a full realization of the ideals, doctrines, and practices that the Romans favored but failed to put into practice. Josephus implied that the Jews bested the Romans in the Pythagorean virtues of piety, discipline, and purity—and thus in the virtues that lay at the very foundation of Roman history and identity[25].

There are several other examples I could cite, but the above should suffice to show that the many difficulties with Silver's argument stem from data misuse and mishandling – in other words, this is not simply a matter of interpretation. In the end, these are fundamental methodological problems which taint every aspect of Silver's hypothesis.

3. Unchecked Parallelomania

The core argument of this monograph is based on a series of parallels drawn out between practices and beliefs attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the classical sources on the Essenes on the one hand, and descriptions of the Pythagoreans on the other. Silver is not the first to draw attention to some of these parallels. In fact, in the most recent systematic treatment of the subject, Justin Taylor reaches a conclusion very similar to Silver's, arguing for real Pythagorean influence on the Essenes – without, however, implying that the Essenes ›converted‹ to Pythagoreanism, as Silver does – and that Alexandria was the conduit through which this knowledge was transmitted[26]. (Incidentally, this is another work not cited by Silver.) The following critique remains centred on the monograph under review, although the points raised are certainly applicable to the general question at hand: what do we do with this ostensible Pythagorean-Essene link?

Any comparative study of this sort risks falling into the vicious trap of parallelomania, which Samuel Sandmel defines »as that extravagance among scholars which first overdoes

23 There are strong indications that Pythagoreanism had ceased to exist as a social entity during the 4th cent. BCE, although the 1st cent. BCE witnessed a possible resurgence of the phenomenon. See the overview in Collins 2010, 82–84 (and further references there). Consequently, knowledge of Pythagoreanism in 2nd-cent. Alexandria is likely to have come through the existence of a literary tradition rather than direct contact with actual Pythagoreans.

24 Taylor 2012.

25 Gillihan 2012, 32–37 (quote on p. 36).

26 Taylor 2005.

the supposed similarity in passages and then proceeds to describe source and derivation as if implying literary connection flowing in an inevitable or predetermined direction«[27]. The manner in which Silver handles the evidence can be described as nothing other than an extreme case of parallelomania. In Silver's case, however, the influences he perceives are not only literary in nature but also socio-cultural.

When is a parallel a parallel, and how are presumed parallels to be explained? Parallelomania, in particular, manifests itself when excerpts are divorced from their contexts. In the words of Sandmel, »[t]wo passages may sound the same in splendid isolation from their context, but when seen in context reflect difference rather than similarity«[28]. This is precisely the problem with Silver's study, which decontextualizes the data on two levels. On the one hand, Silver makes connections between Qumran-Essene thought and practices and Pythagoreanism, all the while ignoring – without justification – the Jewish background to many of the supposed Pythagorean influences. Some examples have already been mentioned in Section 2. Here, it suffices to refer to just one other example. Silver links the symbolic structure of the Qumran-Essene community into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens with the importance of the number 10 in Pythagoreanism (pp. 123–124), despite the fact that the terminology has biblical precedent. In fact, the symbolic structuring of the group along biblical lines appears to have been intended to define it as a microcosm of the true Israel, echoing the ›golden age‹ of the wilderness camp when Israel received its original revelation at Sinai[29].

On the other hand, Silver overlooks the larger Graeco-Roman ›Zeitgeist‹ that permeated across the Mediterranean and the Near East. This is the global context. The Graeco-Roman world was characterized by heightened interconnectivity, which resulted in the creation of various far-flung exchange networks through which flowed people, goods, and ideas[30]. By drawing direct links between the Qumran-Essenes and Pythagoreanism or between Qumran and Alexandria, Silver ignores everything else in between. The challenge of any comparative study is to determine whether a presumed parallel reflects direct influence from one tradition or social entity to another or whether it merely echoes the general spirit of the period in question. For example, Gillihan underlines the fact that the many similarities between the groups depicted in the scrolls and Graeco-Roman associations owe more to the larger cultural milieu than to direct forms of contact. Many associations based their structural organization on that of the state, and thus, given the preponderance of the polis as a political entity in the ancient Near East, including Jerusalem to an extent, the structural similarities they shared between them is unsurprising[31]. Other parallels between the Qumran-Essenes and Pythagoreanism were widespread enough »that there is no need to posit a specifically Pythagorean influence«[32].

In addition to globalization, there is also the concept of glocalization to consider, or the phenomenon of glocalism, which refers to the interplay between global trends and local permutations[33]. Humans are not passive agents who borrow ideas uncritically; rather they tend to adapt global practices to suit specific local needs. A good example of glocalization among Jews in early Roman Palestine is the adoption of stone ossuaries for secondary burial, which was obviously influenced by the widespread use of cinerary urns across the Roman Mediterranean. Since Jews could not practice cremation, they opted for secondary burial

27 Sandmel 1962, 1.

28 Sandmel 1962, 2.

29 See, for example, Collins 2010, 54.

30 That the ancient Mediterranean was characterized by significant human mobility is now considered a truism. See especially Horden – Purcell 2000. And see also Malkin 2011; de Ligt – Tacoma 2016; Pitts – Versluys 2017.

31 Gillihan 2012.

32 Gillihan 2012, 36. And see Hengel 1974, 243–247.

33 See Roudometof 2016. For the application of the concept to the Graeco-Roman world, see, for example, Whitmarsh 2012; Vlassopoulos 2016.

instead[34]. Pieter Hartog approaches the Qumran pesharim in similar fashion, concluding that they represent »glocal phenomena that intricately combine global practices (the production of systematic commentaries) with local aims and interests (the development of a narrative historical memory for the movement to which the Pesher commentators belonged)«[35]. Many other examples can be cited. In his seminal work on Judaism and Hellenism, Martin Hengel proclaimed that »[f]rom about the middle of the third century BC all Judaism must really be designated Hellenistic Judaism«[36]. Considering the interplay with other, non-Greek, cultural elements, ›glocal Judaism‹ would perhaps be a better characterization[37].

The corollary is that not only is it difficult to make the interpretative leap from presumed parallels to actual historical links between two specific social entities, but apparent similarities may be less significant than they are made out to be. This accentuates the need to explore analogous traditions in great detail in order to distinguish real flows of influence from perceived ones as well as to highlight shared commonalities and local differences. This element is sorely missing in Silver's analysis, which is completely bereft of a theoretical framework. Thus, the perceived parallels between the Qumran-Essenes and the Pythagoreans – Silver lists numerical symbolism, eschatology, interest in astrology and veneration of the sun, wisdom or sapiental traditions, purity practices, initiation rites, sharing of property, oaths, social organization, and many others – can also be explained by looking at local traditions (biblical and/or Jewish), general cultural influences (i.e., globalization, which facilitated the widespread diffusion of ideas in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean), or the synthesis of different traditions (i.e., glocalization)[38]. Not only does this weaken the presumed Pythagorean origin of various parallels, let alone the notion that the Qumran-Essenes essentially became Pythagoreans, but it lays the burden of proof squarely on whoever wants to establish this direct correlation.

In this regard, Silver's thesis faces great hurdles. Surely, as many scholars have shown, there were close contacts between Egypt and Palestine in the Hellenistic period, and this facilitated the exchange of knowledge and information[39]. While this creates a plausible framework within which to see a potential Alexandrian-Qumran connection, it is a far cry from proving it. A historical conclusion of the kind advocated by Silver (as well as others, such as Justin Taylor) requires more explicit evidence. In fact, Silver has a hard time finding such support, and he ends up clutching at straws. He argues that ceramic links between Qumran and Alexandria provide us with a »very strong« connection between the two places (pp. 306. 375; and cf. pp. 469–471). He is referring to the same jars and oil lamps mentioned above, in Section 2. I have already highlighted the difficulties with the proposed relationship between the Deir el-Medina and Qumran jars. As for the delphiniform lamps, while it is true that Alexandria could have been a major production centre, Silver fails to make the distinction between imports and local imitations. Whereas imported exemplars tend to have a grey fabric and a coating of grey slip, locally produced specimens have a grey, yellowish, or light red fabric and a coating of red slip[40]. The lamps found at Qumran (i.e., Młynarczyk's types 041, 042, 043, and 044) are clearly local imitations. All of them are red wares, except one, which is grey, unslipped, and with a beige surface (KhQ5102)[41]. The lamps, then, do not provide a

34 See Magness 2011, 151–155 (and further references there).

35 Hartog 2017, 293.

36 Hengel 1974, 104.

37 See also Hartog 2017, 19–20.

38 Note, for instance, Hengel's astute observation that »the essential thing is not the supposed ›Pythagorean‹ influences, but the fact that Hellenistic observers like Josephus – or Nicolaus of Damascus – could present them as Jewish ›Pythagoreans‹ « (Hengel 1974, 247).

39 See Hartog 2017, 21–26 (and further references there).

40 Bar-Nathan 2002, 108.

41 See Młynarczyk 2016, 506–509 pls. 110–111.

direct link with Alexandria, and the fact that these lamps are not unique to Qumran but are prevalent in the southern Levant is a further weakness in Silver's argument.

The other pieces of evidence Silver adduces are likewise specious. Note, for instance, Silver's contention that the »burial form in shaft graves at Qumran … was alien to local Graeco-Roman funerary customs whereas it was common in Egypt« (p. 275), which of course does not hold water in view of the local evidence[42]. For Silver, it is also significant that there is a high degree of overlap between the scrolls found in Qumran Cave 4Q and the Cairo Genizah in Egypt, which is »compelling evidence for the origin of the Qumran-Essene community in Egypt« (p. 65; and cf. also pp. 110. 229). The link is tenuous at best, and it is not clear how this could corroborate a potential Egyptian origin for the Qumran-Essenes.

Eventually, parallelomania becomes a tool for circular argumentation. There are several instances where Silver not only interprets vague similarities as meaningful parallels attesting to direct Pythagorean influence, but uses these presumed connections as justification to interpret archaeological evidence within a Pythagorean framework – usually leading to highly questionable conclusions. For instance, Silver claims that wounds and traces of superficial burning attested on some of the individuals interred in the Qumran cemetery may have been self-inflicted and that these may reflect trials by »fire and sword« echoing certain Pythagorean rituals (pp. 247–249)[43]. The »drink of the many«, which is a technical term in the scrolls referring to pure liquids consumed by members of the group(s) mentioned therein[44], is interpreted narrowly as a special drink which was the source of wisdom and knowledge (pp. 145–146). Silver suggests that this drink was likely a concoction of wine and honey – »mentioned in the Pythagorean treatise« (p. 146) – and it »may have been used as part of religious rituals and sacred offerings to the divinity, which was a normal Pythagorean practice« (pp. 146–147). This is one of the reasons why date honey was produced at Qumran, according to Silver, and thus he gives this industry a Pythagorean twist as well. Silver also speculates that the Qumran-Essenes may have practised bird-catching, which was a common Pythagorean exercise. Birds were released from their cages and this »may have symbolically perhaps represented the liberation of the soul from the body… Hypothetically, this may have been a possible ritual at the initiation ceremonies among the Qumran-Essenes« (pp. 141–142). The only evidence he draws upon are a few lead weights, which could have been used as net weights[45]. Once again, therefore, Silver imposes a Pythagorean interpretation on a mundane activity without any further evidentiary support. The discovery of oil lamps in connection with the animal-bone deposits in L130, which likely represent the remnants of sacred or ritualized meals at Qumran[46], is explained through comparison with the sacred meals of various mystery religions, which were carried out during the night (pp. 474–484). However, Silver does not explain the absence of oil lamps in the other areas where similar animal-bone deposits were discovered. Likewise, the use of the surrounding caves and the presence of oil lamps in some of them are related to Pythagorean cave rituals, which also took place at night (pp. 117–118), and all the while, the practical need of light in many of these caves, even in daytime, is ignored.

Undoubtedly, as many recent studies have demonstrated, there is much to learn and many insights to be gained from (re)reading the scrolls within the larger Graeco-Roman milieu. The question is what to do with the presumed parallels or similarities, and for this we need sound theoretical frameworks. Ultimately, the problem is that unchecked parallelomania

42 See, for example, Bar-Adon 1977, 12–17; Zissu 1998, 158–171; Politis 1999, 128; Politis 2006, 213–219. And see Magness 2011, 155–164 (and further references there).

43 The skeletal data is largely gleaned from Solomon Steckoll's excavations, which scholars regard with some scepticism owing to Steckoll's lack of archaeological credentials and the questionable quality of his reports. See Steckoll 1968, 323–336; Steckoll 1969, 33–40; Steckoll 1974, 199–244.

44 See, for example, Hempel 2012, 57–62 (esp. 61–62).

45 See Yuzefovsky 2018, 390.

46 For an overview of the phenomenon, see Mizzi 2016, 51–70.

of the sort displayed in this monograph results in an overly reductive approach which tries to explain everything within the framework of one phenomenon. In other words, Silver's hypothesis explains too much.

4. Factual Errors

Several factual errors compound the problems of method and interpretation outlined above. Once again, I limit myself to a few examples. For instance, it is not true that cotton and hairnets were found in the caves of Qumran (pp. 152. 202). In fact, the cotton comes from the so-called Christmas Cave, which is not related to Qumran[47], whereas the hairnet (not hairnets) is unprovenanced[48]. Silver is also wrong to state that the method of burial at Qumran was »highly irregular in antiquity« (p. 275), when in fact burial in shaft graves must have been the most common method of interment among the poorer classes[49]. This type of burial seems rare only because it is less likely to survive in the archaeological record. For this same reason, Silver is incorrect when he claims that Jews »systematically practiced secondary burials in ossuaries« (p. 275). Silver also speaks of large quantities of luxury goods, particularly »Roman glass and expensive terra sigillata pottery« (p. 160). However, the glass from Qumran is not luxurious[50], and only a very small number of terra sigillata vessels have actually been discovered[51]. In an accompanying footnote, Silver alludes to the fact that »Roma-jars« are reported (p. 160 n. 716), implying that these are Roman luxury vessels. However, there is only one so-called ›Roma jar‹, and this refers to an ovoid jar found in Cave 7Q bearing the double inscription רומא (RWMʾ)[52]. This a common jar, and it has nothing to do with imported Roman pottery.

There are also several inaccuracies concerning the history of research. For example, Gloria Moss is not »the only one who has counted the pools« at Qumran (p. 433 n. 2085)[53]. Similarly, Silver is mistaken when he states that »[i]t appears to have passed unnoticed that there is a certain number of so-called pairs of opposites in the DSS« (p. 328). Countless articles and volumes on dualism in the scrolls say otherwise. Silver's claim that »[t]he names or the appellations that the Qumran-Essene community applied to itself are a subject that has received relatively little scholarly attention« is inaccurate also (p. 100).

Some errors stem from a lack of full understanding of the data. In connection with the Qumran Community Rule (1QS), Silver says that »[i]t is illuminating for the attitude of Qumran research that another significant text dealing with Qumran-Essene cosmic belief and the syncretistic solar calendar has been systematically deleted from popular translations of the DSS, such as G. Vermes 2004 or T. H. Gaster 1976« (p. 126). Here, Silver is talking about the so-called hymn of the maskil at the end of 1QS, which seemingly refers to three Hebrew letters – aleph, mem, and nun – as symbolic entities, linked by Silver with analogous symbolism in Pythagoreanism (pp. 126–128). However, Silver ignores the fact that the text in 1QS is defective, either because of a scribal error or due to difficulties with the reading of the source text(s) by

47 See Shamir – Sukenik 2011, 210–212.

48 The hairnet is mentioned by Shamir 2006, 292, fig. 6, who claims that it comes from Qumran without, however, providing further details or corroboration. The hairnet is not even mentioned in Shamir and Sukenik's 2011 publication, which deals specifically with the textiles and garments of Qumran's inhabitants (see previous note). Like other items mentioned in Shamir's 2006 article, the hairnet may be part of the textile corpus from Christmas Cave, although this cannot be confirmed at present.

49 Magness 2011, 155–164.

50 Mizzi 2010, 99–198.

51 See, for example, Eisenstadt 2018, 210.

52 See de Vaux 1962, 30 fig. 6, 5.

53 See, for instance, Reich 2013, 164–175, whose work is based on his doctoral dissertation which dates back to 1990. And see also Galor 2003, 291–320.

1QS's scribe(s). This much can be discerned from the parallel passages in 4QSb and 4QSd – which is why modern editions of the scrolls omit reference to these letters in their translation[54]!

There are many other errors, but it would be petty to list them all. The point I want to stress here is the fact that this lack of attention to detail raises questions about the general quality of the volume and the reliability of its claims. I am not a specialist of Pythagoreanism, but seeing these many errors does not inspire much confidence in Silver's presentation of that data.

5. Pseudonymity in Academic Publication

Now comes the bombshell. Apparently, Kenneth Silver is none other than Kenneth Lönnqvist[55]. A google search confirms as much, and this explains the consistent references to Minna and Kenneth Lönnqvist's work, particularly their 2002 monograph[56], as well as Silver's knowledge of certain ›behind-the-scenes‹ information[57]. Needless to say, this raises serious concerns regarding ethical practices in publication. When reading an academic work, readers expect honesty and transparency, both of which are critical pillars of the scientific or scholarly process. The use of pseudonyms, especially when this goes undisclosed, erodes trust between authors, editors, publishers, and readers. Moreover, it creates a situation where an author can remain unaccountable for his or her views[58]. It also deprives readers from situating an author's work within their general scholarly output. Furthermore, pseudonymity can be used to promote one's own research, written under a different name, thus giving the impression of wider scholarly support than is in fact the case.

This is exactly what Silver does. He never discloses his identity, and he consistently speaks of Minna and Kenneth Lönnqvist in the third person. There are even chapters or subsections of chapters credited to the two authors. In the preface to the book, Silver describes his monograph »as a continuation of the first archaeological monograph written by Minna Lönnqvist and Kenneth Lönnqvist in 2002« (p. xvii), without hinting that he is one of these co-authors. Repeatedly, Silver cites the Lönnqvists's various publications while ignoring other, more authoritative, works. Critically, he consistently boosts their work, with statements such as the following: »The best general theory is the one by Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist, which applies to all contextual facts relating texts with archaeology. Magness, for example, never studied the actual archaeological material from Qumran for her work *The archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*« (p. 451). The volume is full of such statements, which are frequently employed to state that one point or another has been argued conclusively and persuasively by the Lönnqvists. Silver even states that the Lönnqvists's hypothesis on Qumran is one of five major theories on the archaeology of the site (pp. 428–433), when their 2002 monograph has largely been panned by the scholarly community and it is rarely cited in the field.

54 See Alexander – Vermes 1998, 115–116. 121. 123.

55 See also MacAdam 2017, 163–169.

56 Lönnqvist – Lönnqvist 2002.

57 See, for example: »However, Humbert said in 2003 … that he had not been aware of the research published on the topic by Steckoll in the 1960s, and the work of Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist 2002 where the same conclusions already had been presented. Unfortunately, this is not true as Humbert was hand-delivered a copy of the book of Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist in September 2002 to the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. At that time on September 14th, 2002, the former also commented upon the theory of solar worship at Qumran, as demonstrated in the dedicatory writing on the title page of this book. Unfortunately, the continued presenting of alternative facts by the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem regarding the research undermines the credibility of the final archaeological reports on Qumran as well« (p. 322 n. 1595; and cf. p. 354 n. 1746).

58 See also Teixeira da Silva 2017, 1807–1810.

6. Conclusion

What happened during the peer-review process? This is the question I consistently asked myself while reviewing this volume. Publication ethics aside, Silver's book is beset with highly speculative statements and questionable conclusions which are either unsupported by factual evidence or else based on a misreading and misuse of published data. It cannot be emphasized enough that the problem, here, is not so much the interpretation than it is the deeply flawed methodology.

Indeed, the aim of this review article was expressly to address what I deem to be an important issue in Qumran studies – namely, the plurality of interpretations which populate the field. New ideas and approaches, including ones that challenge the so-called consensus, are always welcome, but these have to be based on a sound and sensible methodology. Hypotheses cannot be built on mere speculation, however plausible they may seem, but need to be grounded with hard evidence and strong arguments. Otherwise, little actual progress can ever be made, and the discipline risks becoming a free-for-all.

Some of the parallels between Pythagoreanism and the Qumran-Essenes may be intriguing, and I harbour no doubts about the intellectual networks which must have existed between Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Qumran, not to mention the wider Mediterranean world. This is not enough, however, to sustain the specific historical deductions made in this book. The evidence is simply not there. In the absence of evidence, do we proceed with unwarranted historical speculation – and, here, I am not forgetting that our discipline deals only with degrees of probability – or do we be measured and judicious, acknowledging the limits of our knowledge while sticking to strict parameters of interpretation? Counterintuitive as it may seem, I strongly believe that the latter is the more fruitful option in the long term.

Bibliography

Adler 2011	Y. Adler, The Archaeology of Purity. Archaeological Evidence for the Observance of Ritual Purity in Eretz-Israel from the Hasmonean Period until the End of the Talmudic Era (164 BCE – 400 CE) (PhD diss., Bar-Ilan University 2011) [Hebrew]
Adler 2014	Y. Adler, Tosefta Shabbat 1:14 – »Come and See the Extent to Which Purity Had Spread«. An Archaeological Perspective on the Historical Background to a Late Tannaitic Passage, in: S. Fine – A. Koller (eds.), Talmuda De-Eretz Israel: Archaeology and the Rabbis in Late Antique Palestine, Studia Judaica 73 (Berlin 2014) 63–82
Alexander – Vermes 1998	P. S. Alexander – G. Vermes, Qumran Cave 4. XIX. Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts, DJD 26 (Oxford 1998)
Bar-Adon 1977	P. Bar-Adon, Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at Ein El-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea, BASOR 227, 1977, 1–25
Bar-Nathan 2002	R. Bar-Nathan, Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho. Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations 3. The Pottery (Jerusalem 2002)
Berlin 1997	A. M. Berlin, Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine: Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period, BibAr 60, 1997, 2–51

Berlin 2015	A. M. Berlin, Hellenistic Period, in: S. Gitin (ed.), The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period 2 (Jerusalem 2015) 629–671, 744–745
Collins 2010	J. J. Collins, Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids, MI 2010)
Eisenstadt 2018	I. Eisenstadt, Qumran Pottery, in: Magen – Peleg 2018, 179–338
Galor 2003	K. Galor, Qumran's Plastered Pools: A New Perspective, in: J.-B. Humbert – J. Gunneweg (eds.), Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha 2. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie. Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry, NTOA 3 (Göttingen 2003) 291–320
Geva 2003	H. Geva, Hellenistic Pottery from Areas W and X-2, in: H. Geva (ed.), Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem 2. The Finds from Areas A, W and X-2 (Jerusalem 2003) 113–175
Gillihan 2012	Y. M. Gillihan, Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls. A Comparative Study of the Covenanters' Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context, STDJ 97 (Leiden 2012)
Harrington 2004	H. H. Harrington, The Purity Texts, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 5 (London 2004)
Hartog 2017	P. B. Hartog, Pesher and Hypomnema. A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period, STDJ 121 (Leiden 2017)
Hempel 2012	C. Hempel, Who Is Making Dinner at Qumran? Journal of Theological Studies 63, 2012, 49–65
Hengel 1974	M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism. Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period, 2 vols. (Philadelphia 1974)
Henze 2012	M. Henze (ed.), A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism (Grand Rapids, MI 2012)
Horden – Purcell 2000	P. Horden – N. Purcell, The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History (Oxford 2000)
Humbert 2003a	J.-B. Humbert, Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation of Qumran, in: J.-B. Humbert – J. Gunneweg (eds.), Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha 2. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie (Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry), NTOA 3 (Göttingen 2003) 419–440
Humbert 2003b	J.-B. Humbert, Arguments en faveur d'une résidence pré-essénienne, in: J.-B. Humbert – J. Gunneweg (eds.), Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha 2. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie, Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry, NTOA 3 (Göttingen 2003) 467–482
Humbert et al. 2016	J.-B. Humbert – A. Chambon – J. Młynarczyk, Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha. Fouilles du P. Roland de Vaux, IIIA. L'archéologie de Qumrân, NTOA 5a (Göttingen 2016)
Lanciers 2014	E. Lanciers, The Shrines of Hathor and Amenhotep in Western Thebes in the Ptolemaic Period, Ancient Society 44, 2014, 105–125
de Ligt – Tacoma 2016	L. de Ligt – L. E. Tacoma (eds.), Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire, Studies in Global Social History 23 – Studies in Global Migration History 7 (Leiden 2016)
Lönnqvist – Lönnqvist 2002	M. Lönnqvist – K. Lönnqvist, Archaeology of the Hidden Qumran. The New Paradigm (Helsinki 2002)
Lönnqvist – Lönnqvist 2011	M. Lönnqvist – K. Lönnqvist, Parallels to Be Seen: Manuscripts in Jars from Qumran and Egypt, in: A. Lange – E. Tov – M. Weigold (eds.), in association with B. H. Reynolds III, The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context. Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures, 2 vols., Vetus Testamentum Suppl. 140 (Leiden 2011) 471–487

MacAdam 2017	H. I. MacAdam, Remarks on Kenneth Silver's Alexandria and Qumran (2017), Qumran Chronicle 25, 2017, 163–169
Magen – Peleg 2018	Y. Magen –Y. Peleg, Back to Qumran: Final Report 1993–2004, Judea and Samaria Publications 18 (Jerusalem 2018)
Magness 2003	J. Magness, The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids, MI 2003)
Magness 2011	J. Magness, Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus (Grand Rapids, MI 2011)
Malkin 2011	I. Malkin, A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean, Greeks Overseas (Oxford 2011)
Milik 1950	J. T. Milik, Le giarre dei manoscritti della grotto del mar morto e dell'Egitto Tolemaico, Biblica 31, 1950, 504–508
Mizzi 2010	D. Mizzi, The Glass from Khirbet Qumran: What Does It Tell Us About the Qumran Community? in: C. Hempel (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls. Texts and Context, STDJ 90 (Leiden 2010) 99–198
Mizzi 2015	D. Mizzi, Qumran Period I Reconsidered: An Evaluation of Several Competing Theories, DSD 22, 2015, 1–42
Mizzi 2016	D. Mizzi, The Animal Bone Deposits at Qumran: An Unsolvable Riddle? Journal of Ancient Judaism 7, 2016, 51–70
Młynarczyk 2013	J, Młynarczyk, Terracotta Oil Lamps from Qumran: The Typology, RB 120–121, 2013, 99–133
Młynarczyk 2016	J. Młynarczyk, Qumran Terracotta Oil Lamps, in: Humbert et al. 2016, 447–521
Pitts – Versluys 2017	M. Pitts – M. J. Versluys (eds.), Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture (Cambridge 2017)
Politis 1999	K. D. Politis, The Nabataean Cemetery at Khirbet Qazone, NEA 62, 1999, 128
Politis 2006	K. D. Politis, The Discovery and Excavation of the Khirbet Qazone Cemetery and its Significance Relative to Qumrân, in: K. Galor – J.-B. Humbert – J. Zangenberg (eds.), Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Archaeological Interpretations and Debates, Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002, STDJ 57 (Leiden 2006) 213–219
Reich 2013	R. Reich, Miqwaʾot (Jewish Ritual Baths) in the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods (Jerusalem 2013) [Hebrew]
Reich 2015	R. Reich, Some Notes on the Miqva'ot and Cisterns at Qumran, in: A. E. Killebrew – G. Faßbeck (eds.), Viewing Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology. VeHinnei Rachel – Essays in Honor of Rachel Hachlili, Journal of the Study of Judaism Suppl. 172 (Leiden 2015) 414–424
Roudometof 2016	V. Roudometof, Glocalization. A Critical Introduction (London 2016)
Sandmel 1962	S. Sandmel, Parallelomania, Journal of Biblical Literature 81, 1962, 1–13
Shamir 2006	O. Shamir, Textiles and Garments from Qumran. Chalcolithic and Roman Period, in: J. Gunneweg – C. Greenblatt – A. Adriaens (eds.), Bio- and Material Cultures at Qumran, Papers from a COST Action G8 Working Group Meeting held in Jerusalem, Israel on 22–23 May 2005 (Stuttgart 2006) 285–296
Shamir – Sukenik 2011	O. Shamir – N. Sukenik, Qumran Textiles and the Garments of Qumran's Inhabitants, DSD 18, 2011, 206–225
Smith 2015	M. E. Smith, How Can Archaeologists Make Better Arguments? The SAA Archaeological Record 15/4, 2015, 18–23

Steckoll 1968	S. H. Steckoll, Preliminary Excavation Report in the Qumran Cemetery, Revue de Qumran 6, 1968, 323–344
Steckoll 1969	S. H. Steckoll, Marginal Notes on the Qumran Excavations, Revue de Qumran 7, 1969, 33–40
Steckoll 1974	S. H. Steckoll, The Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, AttCItRom 5, 1973–74, 199–244
Taylor 2005	J. Taylor, Pythagoreans and Essenes. Structural Parallels, Collection de la Revue des études juives 32 (Leuven 2005)
Taylor 2012	J. E. Taylor, The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea (Oxford 2012)
Teixeira da Silva	J. A. Teixeira da Silva, Are Pseudonyms Ethical in (Science) Publishing? Neuroskeptic as a Case Study, Science and Engineering Ethics 23, 2017, 1807–1810
Vandorpe 2011	K. Vandorpe, Archives and Dossiers, in: R. S. Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology (Oxford 2011) 216–255
de Vaux 1953	R. de Vaux, Fouille de Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire, RB 60, 1953, 83–106
de Vaux 1954	R. de Vaux, Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne, RB 61, 1954, 206–236
de Vaux 1955	R. de Vaux, La Poterie, in: D. Barthélemy – J. T. Milik, Qumran Cave I, DJD 1 (Oxford 1955) 8–17
de Vaux 1956	R. de Vaux, Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e, et 5e campagnes, RB 63, 1956, 533–577
de Vaux 1962	R. de Vaux, Archéologie, in: M. Baillet – J. T. Milik – R. de Vaux, Les ›Petites Grottes‹ de Qumrân, DJD 3 (Oxford 1962) 3–36
de Vaux 1973	R. de Vaux, Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, rev. ed. (London 1973)
de Vaux 1977	R. de Vaux, Archéologie, in: R. de Vaux – J. T. Milik, Qumrân Grotte 4, DJD 6 (Oxford 1977) 3–22
Vlassopoulos 2016	K. Vlassopoulos, Greeks and Barbarians (Cambridge 2016)
Werrett 2007	I. C. Werrett, Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls, STDJ 72 (Leiden 2007)
Whitmarsh 2012	T. Whitmarsh (ed.), Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World, Greek Culture in the Roman World (Cambridge 2012)
Yuzefovsky 2018	B. Yuzefovsky, The Metal Finds, in: Magen – Peleg 2018, 387–402
Zissu 1998	B. Zissu, ›Qumran Type‹ Graves in Jerusalem: Archaeological Evidence of an Essene Community? DSD 5, 1998, 158–171